20c • APRIL 5, 1954

Art Buchwald on McCarthy

New Republic

On-the-Spot Report to New Republic

GRAHAM GREENE

Is There a Way Out in Indo-China?

LEWIS MUMFORD

Irrational Elements in Art and Politics

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER JR.

Why Eisenhower Won't Succeed

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee

[APR 1 1954]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Washington Wire T. R. B.

The big Eisenhower legislative program is in trouble. Ike postponed everything in 1953 with the excuse that he was learning the ropes. This year the big program has just bogged down. The question is: Are Republicans really capable of governing?

In the first place there was McCarthy. Eisenhower rather pathetically tried to get attention for his program; Joe was always in the way. Ike told the nation that a party that couldn't formulate and enact a "bold, dynamic" program didn't deserve to govern. Having said that he's stuck with it.

The public couldn't get interested in Ike's program because they knew, instinctively, something more important hung over Washington. Was Ike boss, or was McCarthy? Until that was settled nothing else really mattered. Well, we still don't know. McCarthy is cornered, like a rat; but Ike still can't decide to do the one thing events scream for—hit the rodent over the head with a poker while he can. Reporters were called in to the press conference last week on word that Ike would say something pretty drastic. As usual they came away cynically laughing. It turned out to be a generalized comment that Ike doesn't think—in the ordinary course of things—people should sit in judgment on an issue if they are involved in the issue! It was another flutter-punch by Bull Butterfly Ike. McCarthy promptly said he agreed. Meanwhile, the GOP compromisers are trying to smooth over the Army-McCarthy row. As Eric Sevareid reported: "The sense of high resolve, the spirit of letting the chips fall where they may, has been slowly relaxing."

But all this helps bog down Ike's legislative program. Then there is another thing: the recession. Ike implied silly promises in the 1952 election to balance the budget right off; he also argued (and apparently believed) that price inflation was raging, whereas it had been checked and prices generally stabilized a year and a half before. Chief exponents of this economic school are Budget Director Dodge and Treasury Secretary Humphrey. More than anybody else they slashed US defense to save money. To them budget balancing is a religion—a sort of mystique. Quite simply and sincerely they believe that the place to start combatting recession is with tax aid to big business.

A far more flexible team of White House economic advisers is Arthur Burns of the President's Council and White House Assistant Gabriel Hauge. As the recession continues the Burns-Hauge team inevitably gains influence. The plain fact is the economy is still sliding; sliding gently, but sliding. The normal seasonal March pick-up isn't visible. Burns is an economist who knows the score. If it were politically feasible, he would probably have started federal pump-priming before now. It's hard not to connect Dodge's sudden resignation with the idea that budget-balancing isn't panning out. The Treasury's proposed $2.9 billion deficit will actually probably be closer to $6 billion.

This affects Ike's legislative program because Republicans are concerned with getting re-elected. It was a GOP revolt that wrote $1 billion of excise-tax cuts into the first big revenue bill. There will be more tax cuts—bigger—if business doesn't pick up soon.

Most of the legislative delay comes from Republicans themselves. They instituted the silly Bricker Amendment, the fight against confirming Chief Justice Warren, the foredoomed effort to unseat Sen. Dennis Chavez (D, N.M.). It is they who will oppose the Eisenhower token health program (pitifully small as it is); the housing program. Now comes up Ike's recommendation on tariffs. The Hull Reciprocal Trade Act to lower tariffs was enacted in 1934. It expires June 12 unless continued. With the single exception of 1943 (when America was at war) the GOP fought this bill tooth-and-nail from inception and at every continuation. Now Ike favors it and the GOP is cleft again. Isolationist Republicans continue to attack the UN, America's allies and foreign aid. Eisenhower's program is bogged down. Is the GOP really responsible enough to govern?

We dropped in to watch the Jenner Subcommittee perform the other day. The strategy is, you remember, that while McCarthy is hog-tied the Jenner Internal Security Subcommittee will seize the spotlight. It's all part of the Dewey-Brownell strategy and is terribly clever. They have a new counsel, Charles Grimes, an ex-Dewey man. Jenner (who called George Marshall a "living lie") thus becomes a sort of chosen instrument of Ike's to steal the show from McCarthy. We came away rather disappointed. The boys are certainly trying all right and ought to be given the credit for effort. Ex-assistant Secretary of State Spruille Braden was doing just the best he could as witness, testifying that "young Soviets" are still just as powerful in the State Department as when they curbed his imperialistic master-minding in Cuba. Braden has a promising trick of shaking his jowls for emphasis, and it's fun watching him. But we kept thinking sadly how much better McCarthy could have milked that scene for Red scare heads! There was only one movie camera on the lot. Maybe they can do better this week, with ex-Secretary John Snyder as target. We want to give these young amateurs every bit of encouragement we can, but this Jenner troupe is really a bit of a let-down for anybody who is familiar with the Big Time.

Notes: Representative Bramblett (R, Cal.)—convicted of taking kickbacks—sits right in Congress and votes as usual; nobody disciplines him. . . . Senator McClellan (D, Ark.)—Southern conservative, court-house type politician—is the brains of the anti-McCarthy inquiry and the man to watch; freshmen Democratic Senators Symington and Jackson follow his lead; normally a dry, severe, reticent and tough fighter, McClellan is mellowing in the job of his battle with Joe, in which he is geographically and politically invulnerable. . . . Welcome Walter Lippmann in support of the idea that Hawaii and Alaska should be self-governing Commonwealths, not states. . . . H. L. Hunt's reactionary *Facts Forum* has taken over *Reporters Roundup* program on Mutual; first line correspondents are fighting shy of it.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Noteworthy This Week

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

The Role of the United States in Indo-China

GRAHAM GREENE'S report from Indo-China (page 13) refers to the "sad ignoble story" of America's half-hearted conduct there as told by a French Commissioner, M. Sainteny.

In contrast Secretary Dulles in his March 29 speech praises America's vigorous action in the struggle which he characterizes as one between atheistic, imperialist Communism and three self-governing states.

Experts believe that neither M. Sainteny nor Secretary Dulles tells the whole story.

Nine years ago when Japan was the enemy in Asia there was a collaborationist movement in Indo-China presided over by the French, and a Viet-Namese resistance movement led by Ho Chi Minh. So, naturally, Americans of General Donovan's Office of Strategic Services were with Ho at the war's end. They were partisans of Viet-Namese nationalism.

On March 6, 1946, France concluded an agreement with the Viet-Namese government of Ho Chi Minh recognizing it as a free state. Then, like the Dutch in Indonesia, France began to cut up the contract she had signed. She treated Cochin China as independent of Viet-Nam; she sent French troops to Annam, and she set out to organize an Indo-Chinese federation in which Viet-Nam would have 10 votes, France 10 votes, and the French-dominated states of Cochin China, Laos, and Cambodia 10 votes apiece. That made 40 votes to 10, and Ho turned the proposal down.

Mr. Greene records that Viet-Namese intransigence contributed to the break-up of 1946. He adds that total surrender was the probable price France would have had to pay for peace. That may be true. Experts in Washington would add, however, that Gandhi was also intransigent, and that Britain "surrendered" in India with beneficial results to the free world. Plainly Ho Chi Minh might have led a free Indo-China behind the Iron Curtain. He might equally have gone the way of Tito in the three years before Communism triumphed in Peking. And either way, only sections of the seaboard are beyond Communist power.

In any event, in the view of American experts France rather than Viet-Minh elected for violence. On November 27, 1946, a dispute arose over the collection of customs in Haiphong. The French commander General Debes determined then that the time had come to teach a "lesson" to the Viet-Namese. So without further provocation six French warships poured shells into the city, killing 6,000 men, women and children.

At that moment the government of Ho Chi Minh had either to fight or be extinguished. It chose to fight, and so fell under the influence of the nation that provided it with soldiers and arms.

American policy at that moment was certainly to withhold aid. It followed our government's appraisal of the strength of Asian nationalism and the futility of providing American arms to a colonial power to restore its rule. Nonetheless guns and tanks made in America and stamped US were used to kill Indo-Chinese soldiers and civilians.

Officially the United States did not intervene while there was no recognized body to speak for the Viet-Namese. When, after three years, the French organized the Bao Dai government, the US became committed. Before and after that time our government begged the French to grant concessions to Viet-Nam. But it was six years after the outbreak of war, in July, 1953, when the first, limited declaration of independence was advanced.

Meanwhile the US sank into the intolerable position of providing more than three quarters of the cost of a campaign which ran counter to American principles and in which we were permitted to exercise no effective influence for reform.

Come, come, now—let's see how clever you are

This year the US is contributing $800 million to the war in Indo-China; France is contributing $400 million. Nor is the disparity matched by personnel. French conscripts by law cannot be sent to Indo-China. Apart from the tragic and disproportionate casualities suffered by the small group that provide the French officer class, the men who die in French divisions in Indo-China are largely Moroccans, Algerians and Foreign Legionnaires.

Can these forces, and the divisions raised so slowly among the Viet-Namese, gain a military decision? Six well-armed divisions operate under Viet-Minh. In Malaya, single well-established government has been opposed by 5,000 poorly armed guerrillas, and yet the fighting continues.

Under these circumstances we are heading for Geneva—insist-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing in accordance with the Dulles Doctrine that we will fight only at places of our own choosing and in fact spread-eagled on an anachronistic war whose aim has centered largely in the interests of a commercial and banking minority in France. France goes to Geneva willing to bargain with the Communist world. Mr. Dulles rules out all bargains. Lacking the military and political power to enforce his demands on France, China or even Viet-Minh, he calls on the Communists in Indo-China to "cease and desist."

That is not a policy. It is not even a sound appraisal of the conditions that exist in South Asia. It is principally a genuflection toward Capitol Hill.

Because Mr. Dulles chooses to ignore realities it does not follow that the French will not hold on in Indo-China, given an increasing flow of arms and technicians, or that the war cannot be prolonged indefinitely on this basis. It does mean that the solution in Indo-China is out of sight, and the lesson is beyond the present comprehension of France or ourselves. It is that when a deep and powerful emotional force is embodied in a people, and is blocked in every legitimate channel of expression, then, if one channel is kept open by the Communists, Communism will win.

Catholic Action

THE MILITANT front of Western Europe's Catholic liberalism is shifting from France to Italy. The movement is spearheaded by the young zealots of the GIAC—the Italian Catholic Youth Organization of Catholic Action—in a region which has been a Red Belt since the fall of Fascism as well as before its rise and even during its existence—Tuscany and Emilia. Though its practical goals are political, its motive force is religious, and it is being conducted entirely by Catholics against the desires of some of the dominant figures in the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

The young Catholics believe that the crux of the struggle against Communism lies now more than ever in the solution of economic and social problems. They have the support of a few (but only a few) powerful men in the Catholic Church hierarchy. But they claim the blessing for their efforts of the overwhelming majority of the country's poor parish priests, the support of 120 members of the Chamber of Deputies and of the Senate, leaders and hundreds of thousands of members of Pastore's "white" (anti-Communist) labor unions and of the ACLI, the Catholic labor union.

The success of the movement can not yet be judged. Its practical results will be seen only when the ballots cast at the next election show how many "Converts" have been made.

But there are signs that the test will not wait that long. The defeat of Catholic liberalism in France may be the forerunner of a worse one in the homeland of the Church itself. Pope Pius has given a hint of his attitude by warning against the "dramatization" of social tensions.

New Republic A JOURNAL OF OPINION

VOLUME 130, NUMBER 14, ISSUE 2054

Michael Straight, *Editor*
Gilbert A. Harrison, *Publisher*
Helen Fuller, *Managing Editor*
Allan E. Aird, *Business Manager*

Tom Fitzsimmons, *Staff Writer*
F. R. Ruskin, *Administrative Assistant*
Eric Bentley, *Theatre Critic*
Lucille Davis, *Copy Assistant*
Robert Evett, *Book Editor*

Contributing Critics: W. H. Auden, Bruce Bliven, Dudley Fitts, Joseph Frank, Gerald W. Johnson, V. O. Key Jr., Max Lerner, Richard Lester, Arthur Mizener, James R. Newman, Kathleen Raine, John Crowe Ransom, Herbert Read, Robert Richman, Mark Schorer, Stephen Spender, Allen Tate

THIS ISSUE

Washington Wire, by T.R.B. 2
Behind the Headlines 3
The Church and the Machine 6
by Frank Gorrell
The Bang Gets Bigger—Why? 7
an editorial
Eisenhower Won't Succeed 8
by Arthur Schlesinger Jr.
Indo-China 13
by Graham Greene
Books and Comment 16
Irrational Elements in Art and Politics 16
by Lewis Mumford
Theatre 21
by Eric Bentley

Published weekly and Copyrighted, 1954 in the USA by New Republic, Inc., publishing office, 301 N St., N.E., Washington 2, D.C. Editorial and business communications should be addressed to 1826 Jefferson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D. C. Entered as second-class matter September 26, 1950 at the post office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Single copy, 20c; Yearly subscription, $7.00; Foreign, $8.00; Armed Forces personnel or students, $5.00.

Bwana Nixon

DURING his tour of the Far East, last winter, Vice President Nixon had occasion to drive through a part of Lower Cambodia, Indo-China.

Each time that he spoke the name Dwight Eisenhower the natives roared approval.

We have just learned, however that "Dwight" sounds very much like the Lower Cambodian "dwaiekt" — free. And "Eisenhower" is quite close to the native "iekendowah"—the local beer.

Oil—Round 2

AT THE northern tip of Alaska lies one of the US Navy's four oil reserves—37,000 square miles, the size of Indiana. It was set aside by President Harding 30 years ago. The Navy has spent $52 million exploring and developing it. Now that the existence there of considerable quantities of oil and immense quantities of gas has been firmly established, Sen. Hugh Butler (R, Neb.), the powerful chairman of the Senate Interior Committee, wants to turn it over to commercial exploitation.

Last spring, the economy-minded Republican Administration refused funds—some $10 million—for continued development of the reserve. A few weeks ago, Butler wrote to Interior Secretary Douglas McKay, saying, "I believe the . . . Reservation should be cancelled immediately and the area opened up to private development," because "this outworn policy . . . has simply locked resources up in a state of non-use."

The purpose of a naval oil reservation is to keep the oil in a "state of non-use," as Butler puts it, so that it will be available for emergency needs. That has been the Navy's policy for 40 years. So Butler's reasoning smacked of the absurd.

But Butler quoted the Navy as assuring him it would "interpose no objection to returning the reserve to the public domain under the administration of the Interior Department."

This seemed a complete reversal of policy.

The question was put to Secretary of the Navy Robert B. Anderson, formerly an oil man. He answered: "The policy is the same . . . the best reservoir for oil is in the ground. . . ." He knew nothing about the statements quoted by Butler and he had not been consulted by Butler or anyone in the Department

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the Navy before they were issued. He knew nothing of Butler's proposal until he saw it in the newspapers. He was opposed to giving the reserve to private companies for development.

It developed that the statements had been issued by Assistant Secretary of the Navy Raymond H. Fogler in answer to questions from Butler.

Butler immediately attempted to amend, in committee, the Alaska statehood bill so that the reserve would be released to private exploitation. Democratic members led by Clinton Anderson of New Mexico defeated the move. When the statehood bill comes up in the Senate the amendment can be offered again. If it is defeated the pretense that it is a move to strengthen a new state will be weakened, and bold, obvious legislation will have to be introduced to affect the transfer.

"People Are Starting to Speak Out"

Sauk City, Wis.

MORE THAN 500 persons crowded into a dingy dance hall on the banks of the Wisconsin river last Sunday afternoon and shouted: "Joe must go."

"Joe," of course, was Senator McCarthy. The shouters were Wisconsin voters, many of them Republicans, who felt strongly that it was intolerable to wait until 1958 for a chance to end the Senator's term of office. The occasion was the organizational meeting of a committee to recall McCarthy—a movement which, though probably doomed to failure, has elicited an amazing response among the citizens of this state.

Up on the platform was Leroy Gore, editor of the weekly *Sauk-Prairie Star*, who started all this with an editorial March 18. Gore, 50, a Republican for 30 years, had supported McCarthy in 1952, but gradually had come to the conclusion that he had been wrong. He called for a recall election "in which the sole issue shall be the fitness of Joseph McCarthy to serve his nation, his party and the sovereign state of Wisconsin." Senator McCarthy, wrote Gore, had tried to undermine the leadership of President Eisenhower, slandered Wisconsin's General Zwicker and was proceeding to "put the Republican Party out of business." He asked the voters to "shake off the soiled and suffocating cloak of McCarthyism."

It is not easy to institute a recall election in Wisconsin. First, some 400,000 signatures must be obtained in 60 days, one-fourth of the total vote for Governor in 1952. Then if all is in order, a special election is called; candidates may circulate nomination papers. Any number may file. All candidates would go on the same ballot, along with the incumbent, and the one with the most votes, though it would be a minority, would win.

Professional politicians have shunned the recall movement. Leaders of both parties say that it is impossible to get that many signatures in 60 days. And even if that could be done, McCarthy could pack the ballot with dummy candidates to split the vote, they say. And many in both parties say that even if the election were forced and McCarthy beaten, the Senate could not seat his successor because the federal Constitution makes no provision for Senatorial recall elections.

Democratic leaders have other reasons for holding off. They feel, as does Gore, that McCarthy is harming the GOP. But they feel that this is a Republican problem from which the Democrats can reap benefits in 1954 and 1956. They feel, specifically, that McCarthy's fight with the Administration is reducing President Eisenhower's popularity and esteem, their greatest obstacle to victory in the Presidential race of 1956.

Leaders of the state Republican organization also are opposing the recall. Most of them, devoted still to the memory of the late Senator Taft and never enthusiastic about Mr. Eisenhower, side with McCarthy against the Administration. "In a showdown with Eisenhower, we'll stick with Joe," declared one district chairman. The state GOP Chairman, Robert L. Pierce, said Saturday that "McCarthy is stronger than ever in Wisconsin." He predicted that the recall movement would "fizzle out."

No state daily newspaper has, at this writing, endorsed the recall idea. State AFL and CIO leaders have pooh-poohed it. But none of this has discouraged Gore. He has gathered about him an enthusiastic band of political amateurs—other weekly editors, rank-and-file Republicans and Democrats and labor representatives, and farmers from all over the state. He has received 3,500 letters to date, and most of them offer help. Letters from Wisconsin are running 11 to one against McCarthy, he said Sunday. About 20,000 recall petitions have been mailed to those who wrote for them, with space for 20 signatures on each. Gore has spent his own money for the campaign so far, but contributions have started to come in. If enough funds are received, it is planned to print petitions as newspaper advertisements, solving the problem of distribution, the most pressing problem at this time.

The letters have filled Gore with optimism. "It is obvious to me," he said, "that only the lunatic fringe is backing McCarthy. I am positive that he could not be re-elected now."

Gore said Sunday that the problem of obtaining a "good Republican" candidate to stand against McCarthy would not be difficult. (Both Republicans and Democrats in the recall movement say that McCarthy's chief opponent should, in fairness to the 1952 voters, be a Republican.) Two prominent Republicans have offered to run should the petitions prove sufficient, Gore said. One is believed to be former Gov. Oscar Rennebohm, Madison drugstore chain operator.

Whatever the outcome, those who feel McCarthy is a menace, to either the GOP or the nation, have cause for encouragement in the response to Gore's call. And while this is the most tangible evidence, there are other signs that McCarthy's star is fading in Wisconsin. There have been, for instance, such things as the bombarding of McCarthy with critical telegrams from reputable citizens at his last two appearances in the state; the semi-boycott, through refusal to applaud, by part of the Young Republican contingent at his Milwaukee speech; a flood of anti-McCarthy "Letters to the Editor," and public denunciations of McCarthy by lower level GOP officials. Almost everyone here knows someone who voted for McCarthy in 1952 and who is against him now.

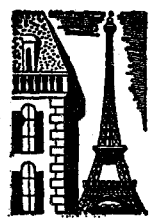
Whether these apparent conversions are solidified probably depends to some extent on coming events in Washington. Perhaps more important, in the long run, is the fact that for the first time, people are starting to speak out on McCarthy. The fear of McCarthy is disappearing along with the faith in his ability to come out on top in every situation. And it does not seem likely that either the fear or the faith will reach former heights.

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Paris Dispatch: THE CHURCH AND THE MACHINE

The French also are in the throes of a great political debate on a national scale about the merits and drawbacks of an unusual method of fighting Communism on the home front. It involves the continuation of the missionary activity of the so-called worker-priests, regularly ordained Roman Catholic clergymen, who try to "re-Christianize" the largely Communist - dominated working - class people of French industrial cities. Steps taken recently to bring this activity to a virtual halt and to silence some of its defenders have thrown French Catholicism into what Cardinal Feltin of Paris calls "a grave crisis." And since France is a Catholic country, at least to the extent that nearly 90 percent of the population profess no other religion, and with lines between doctrinal and political matters tending to blur, this means an agitation in public opinion generally, almost as serious as the one in the US about McCarthyism.

The experimental missionary apostolate of the worker-priests is 10 years old. It began with a book, as do many things in a country in which literature and life inter-penetrate, often to the benefit of neither. After reading Abbe Godin's *France, Pays de Mission?*, the late Cardinal Suhard approved an effort to remove the "wall which separates the Church from the masses." At the seminary at Lisieux (which has now been closed) of the Mission de France, 350 priests were trained as domestic missionaries to "the most de-Christianized regions"; and since the word region was intended socially as well as geographically, some of these priests were workers.



But the Mission de Paris (and similar undertakings in Bordeaux, Lyons, Marseilles, Lille and Limoges) selected priests who had learned a trade and sent them to work full-time in factories, mines, mills and shops. They were autonomous; they lived, dressed, worked, acted (and in some cases, thought and felt) exactly as did the workers whom they tried to win back from a faith in the Marxist utopia.

Until the death of Cardinal Suhard in 1949, the worker-priests had a guide and a protector. In the spirit of Pope Pius XI who had said that, "The workers will be evangelized by the workers," he sponsored an effort to prove to the workers, who were being subjected to more and more Communist propaganda, that the Church was not only *for* them but also *with* them.

The defense of the worker-priests in those years—and now, at a time when their apostolate is threatened with extinction—comes from those Frenchmen, both outside and inside the Church (and including prelates on the very highest levels of the hierarchy), who believe that the French social system, still both traditionalist and based on class war, has become subject to Communism's internal siege largely because its leaders have been—and are—more unwilling than unable to face adjustment to modern conditions. Although Cardinal Suhard was not a modernist, the worker-priest experiment which he sponsored provided leadership to modernization.

The issue now, says the *London Sunday Times*, "involves the relationship between the Church and the modern world." The question, says the *London Observer*, is, "Can the methods of the Roman Church be effectively adapted to the political and social exigencies of modern France?"

But there is another question—and it was on the basis of a negative answer that the Vatican acted to halt the experiment. Can priests—or anyone, for that matter — fight Communism on its own ground, and with its own weapons, without being tainted, corrupted or entirely won over by its evils, and hence help in the spread of that evil? There is no doubt that a number of the worker-priests (of whom there have never been more than about 100) did in fact succumb.

The first overt sign was the arrest of two of the worker-priests during the demonstration in Paris on May 28, 1952, against the arrival of General Ridgway as the successor to General Eisenhower at SHAPE. In April, 1953, 16 of the worker-priests wrote to the Communist newspaper *Humanité*, attacking the head of the Christian Workers' Union. There were other signs too that the splendid ship launched by Cardinal Suhard was losing its rudder.

Since last autumn there have been comings and goings between Paris and Rome of Cardinals and high Church officials, and a steady series of limitations on the activities of the worker-priests, accompanied by mounting passion in the great debate. Two days after Christmas, seven Jesuits who were worker-priests were ordered to stop their proseletyzing work, and obeyed. In January, the bishops with worker-priests in their diocese called upon them to give up all of their temporal charges and to reduce their daily work in factories to three hours a day.

The effect was a letter of bitter protest signed by 73 of the worker-priests and one signed by 200 militant Catholic workers. In February, the most serious sanction of all was imposed. The Master General of the Dominican Order came from Rome to Paris and removed from their posts seven of the leading Dominicans in France, the Provincials of Paris, Lyons and Toulouse, and four theologians, writers and editors. Fathers Boisselot, Chenu, Congar and Feret, outstanding leaders in French intellectual life, were punished for having supported the worker-priests; the Provincials (holders of the office of head of a Province of the Order, and chosen by election) were dismissed for having failed to discipline the others.

This drastic and dramatic action, the most serious taken since the Royalist *Action Française* was put on the Index and its leaders excommunicated nearly a generation ago, brought such leading Catholic laymen as François Mauriac, the Nobel Prize novelist, into print with vigorous protests. As might have been expected, rumors — entirely unsubstantiated, undoubtedly false and spread by the Communists—were put into circulation to the effect that the Vatican had yielded to McCarthyish pressure from the Catholic hierarchy in the US. If any influences were brought to bear—and there is nothing more than supposition to support the notion—it is likely that they came from Spain, West Germany and, most of all, from Italy herself for fear of the spread of Catholic liberalism.

Paris FRANK GORRELL

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A JOURNAL OF OPINION New Republic

Editorial: The Bang Gets Bigger—*Why?*

ACCORDING to Representative Chet Holifield of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee, the March 1 hydrogen explosion in the Marshall Islands was "so far beyond what was predicted that you might say it was out of control."

Further analysis suggests that it was not the explosion that was out of control so much as the government which sanctioned it.

The explosion certainly produced unexpected results, some of which were caused by miscalculation.

It was set off from a tower on a coral atoll, probably a mistake since the coral ash was transformed into radioactive calcium carbonate.

It was set off under unfavorable conditions—because miscalculations made by the meterologists added to the natural anxiety of scientists to explode the weapon once it was assembled.

As the result of these errors 379 persons were exposed to radiation and 23 Japanese fishermen were burned. The burns were superficial since the coral ash contained Beta but not the more penetrating Gamma radiation. For Americans, however, the damage caused by the explosion may prove to be more than skin-deep.

When President Eisenhower was asked about the explosion he commented that something happened that "surprised and astonished the scientists," but he didn't know what it was. This "lame and obtuse" explanation (as Walter Millis of the *New York Herald Tribune* described it) greatly added to the nation's anxiety. Was the nuclear weapon really out of control?

Apparently it was not. While the explosion may have been larger than anticipated (because the efficiency of the explosion can never be exactly predicted), its outward limits were calculated and known. The fishermen were burned because the ash fell out of the atmosphere in a down draft instead of being dispersed on upper winds.

However astonishing and regrettable these events may have been, they barely touch on the real issues raised by the March 1 explosion.

In May, 1951, two thermonuclear explosions were set off on Eniwetok. In November, 1952, a crater a mile across and 175 feet deep was blasted in the ocean by the first true hydrogen bomb. This weapon was five megatons (five million tons of TNT); the March 1 weapon had a power of between 10 and 12 megatons.

What is the purpose of doubling and tripling our thermonuclear weapons? The largest possible enemy target that they are intended to obliterate is Moscow. Five million humans live in Moscow's 235 square miles; the five megaton bomb was powerful enough to devastate this area.

No other potential target approaches Moscow in size. So, *forsaking all other considerations,* what military justification is there for a 12 megaton bomb?

No justification has been offered; no one in the Administration seems to believe that any is required.

Lacking all information about the weapon that shapes our futures, we must at least ask: was the decision to build and detonate the March 1 bomb made by the highest officials and only after the most careful consideration?

We have asked this question as best we can and the best answer we can offer is *no.*

In the past, the Atomic Energy Commission was directed with some vision under David Lilienthal. The Joint Committee, under the leadership of Brien McMahon made many decisions including one to expand capacity. The White House, under Harry Truman, chose after long debate to produce hydrogen weapons.

Who formulates policy today? No decisive minds are visibly at work on the problem. The Armed Forces Special Weapons Project and the Division of Military Application of the Atomic Energy Commission hold the immediate authority. But the decisions in fact tend to be made at the field level, without reference to political factors, or at the political level without benefit of scientific calculations. The Pentagon looks to the Congress; the Congress turns to the President. The President apparently waits for briefings by Admiral Lewis Strauss, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission. Admiral Strauss in turn holds the Pentagon responsible. "The Joint Chiefs of Staff," he confided to Congress, "believe that full advantage should be taken of nuclear capabilities to insure that the US maintains its superiority."

"*Superiority*"—what on earth does it mean? More and bigger bombs apparently—and yet the experts insist that as both sides accumulate stockpiles, superiority rests increasingly not on the size of the weapons, but on the vulnerability of targets. "Massive retaliation"—that magic phrase of Secretary Dulles—implies and *invites* atomic strikes against the US. But, after 16 months in office, the Eisenhower Administration has proposed no action to reduce the vulnerability of our cities and has taken no major steps on continental and civil defense.

The melancholy truth appears to be that the Administration is being swept along in the current of illusions. Inertia rather than foresight sets our course. The American mania for bigness is producing bigger bombs; what they will be used for, and what they may lead to, the Administration does not tell us and the people can only dimly guess.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Eisenhower Won't Succeed

The logic of a "single-interest" party is a weakening of the Presidency.

by Arthur Schlesinger Jr.

IN THE following article Mr. Schlesinger inaugurates a discussion the general theme of which is, do the Democratic and Republican parties really exist, or are we the victims of an optical illusion?

Some very shrewd observers accept the theory of the mirage. I remember all too clearly an argument with Soviet Ambassador Oumansky (that, of course, was in the pre-McCarthy era, when attempting to show a Communist the error of his way did not result in attainder of treason) in which he revealed his firm conviction that Americans cherish the delusion that Joe Doakes going into the postoffice and Joe Doakes coming out of the postoffice add up to two Joes. The candidates in that election were, in his view, Wendell Roosevelt and Franklin D. Willkie; and no matter who won, the result would be the same.

This remains the official view of the Soviet Union and, with some modification, the view of some Americans too intelligent to be dismissed with a shrug. Mr. Schlesinger argues vigorously against it; he will be followed by an exponent of an opposite school of thought. Even if nothing more is accomplished, between them they should clear away many irrelevancies.

Do not mistake this for a fruitless schoolmen's controversy. In a representative democracy lack of strong conviction in the electorate is a form of dry-rot capable of eventually destroying the whole fabric; but no man ever held strong convictions without having reasons for the faith that is in him. They may be fantastically erroneous reasons, in which case his faith is fanticism, but reasons there are behind any stout belief.

The object of this series is a realistic examination of the reasons for American partisanship—if they are sound, to prove them sound, if they are fraudulent to expose their fraudulence, and if some are sound and some are frauds, the usual outcome in the course of human events, to provide criteria by which any man of average intelligence can distinguish one from the other.

Gerald W. Johnson

THE BATTLEFIELD of American politics is often dark and confused, with shouts and sighs and blood-curdling screams echoing through the night, and occasional flares, rockets and bombs bursting in air to provide brief and delusive impressions of light and action. These latter are the flaming distractions of our politics, like the firing of MacArthur in 1951 and the Cohn-Schine case today; and they often appear for a moment to be the pivots of our whole political equilibrium. But, in retrospect, they may come to seem almost irrelevant. Underneath the sound and fury, often concealed by the dazzle or drowned out by the blare, there remains a persistent deeper logic in American political life. In the long run, this continuity may be more important in political behavior than all the clamor of the moment.

Thus many interpretations have been offered of the essential significance of the change which took place in our national government a year ago. That change has been defined in many ways—from Democratic to Republican, from liberal to conservative, from left to right, from vice to virtue, from soft-on-Communism to McCarthyism, from government-by-crony to government-by-postponement, and so on, but perhaps in the end its enduring significance—and the central explanation of the vicissitudes of the new Administration—may be seen to lie in the consequences of a change from government by a *multi-interest* to government by a *single-interest* party.

Such a contention as this will be read, no doubt, as a partisan statement; and it is certainly impossible for the writer to deny political allegiances. Yet the basic thesis here suggested is not a partisan thesis. The role of interests in a free society has long been recognized by politicians and political scientists of all parties. James Madison, writing of the relatively primitive America of 1787, pointed out in the *Federalist Papers* that the competition among these interest groups provided most of the material and motives of democratic politics. "A landed interest, a manufacturing interest, a mercantile interest, a moneyed interest, with many lesser interests, grow up of necessity in civilized nations," Madison observed, "and divide them into different classes, actuated by different sentiments and views. The regulation of these various and interfering interests forms the principal task of modern legislation, and involves the spirit of party and faction in the necessary and ordinary operations of the government."

Arthur Schlesinger Jr., Professor of History at Harvard University and Pulitzer Prize winner for his The Age of Jackson, *is also well acquainted with the practical side of politics as co-chairman of Americans for Democratic Action and a member of Adlai Stevenson's campaign staff in 1952.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If free society consists of a diversity of interests, one of these interests is likely to be more powerful than the others; and, if this interest is considerably more powerful, and if its power is sustained over a long period, it is likely to goad the lesser interests into an alliance against it. Under a two-party political system, one party thus tends to fall under the sway of the major interest, and the other party to become the instrument of the coalition of minority interests. The question then becomes whether the principal task of modern legislation—"the regulation of these various and interfering interests"—is likely to be best conducted by the single-interest party or by the multi-interest party; whether, in other words, the most powerful special interest of the nation or the popular coalition against it is more likely to serve the national interest and the general welfare.

Obviously no interest in a free society is monolithic. All of Madison's interest groups had their internal disagreements over minor issues and even their dissenters on major issues; and the schismatics from the ranks of the most powerful interest—which in recent American history has meant the non-conformist members of the business community—are always likely to be considerable in number and influence. Yet the existence of such interior dissent and even heresy does not render meaningless Madison's concept of interest. Businessmen may wrangle among themselves over tariffs, trade unionists over union jurisdictions, farmers over the techniques of price support; but each group tends to close ranks when confronted by an external challenge. No interest group can deliver all its members, thank heaven; yet each can deliver enough to establish its own identity as an interest group. Thus, when Secretary of the Interior McKay recently remarked, "We're here in the saddle as an Administration representing business and industry," he was making a meaningful observation; and equally meaningful, of course, would be the implied contrast—that the Roosevelt and Truman Administrations represented other groups than business and industry.

We have, indeed, been accustomed in this country for nearly a generation to multi-interest government—government by a coalition composed of members of the several minority interest groups (minority, that is, in terms of effective power). Since the days of Jefferson and Madison, the Democratic Party has traditionally been the receptacle for these miscellaneous lesser interests of the nation. Sometimes, such interests have had very little else in common except their opposition to rule by the first interest. Jefferson's celebrated botanizing expedition up the Hudson in 1791 may not, latter-day scholarship now suggests, have sealed any alliances with Tammany Hall; but the partnership between the Northern city boss and the Southern planter was born in the first decade of the republic, and in the years since ever more jarring sects have crowded under the Democratic tent. What was an implicit conception of the party with Jefferson became more explicit with Jackson. In later years Bryan and Wilson revitalized the theory of the Democratic Party as an alliance of the lesser groups against rule by the major group; and under Franklin D. Roosevelt, of course, this pluralistic conception reached its most complete and effective fulfillment.

What is the essence of a multi-interest administration? It is surely that the leading interests in society are all represented in the interior processes of policy formation—which can be done only if members or advocates of these interests are included in key positions of government. Thus the Roosevelt and Truman Administrations functioned, in this sense, as working expressions of American pluralism. The farmers, the laboring men, the intellectuals and the non-conformist businessmen were all represented in the government; and the politicians played their proper roles as the harmonizers of divergent interests. It is sometimes forgotten that Roosevelt appointed three Republicans to his Cabinet in 1933; and at no time in the thirties and forties was the business community without powerful representatives within the Democratic Administrations. The presence of the Jesse Joneses, T. Jefferson Coolidges, John W. Haneses, Forrestals, Knudsens, Claytons and the rest was often a source of anguish to die-hard New Dealers. But they were there nonetheless. Roosevelt had an instinctive recognition that, however much he might detest the official leadership of the business community, he needed the co-operation and support of businessmen of good will.

A MULTI-INTEREST PARTY has several obvious advantages from the viewpoint of providing wise leadership. The first is that, since policy emerges from a wide consultation among various groups, it has a much better chance of corresponding to the needs of a diversified society and a sprawling nation. If government programs have to run the gauntlet of a variety of interests, the resulting process of criticism and modification increases the chance of producing policies which will genuinely serve the national interest. Of course, a single interest may be gifted with infallibility and thus not require the correction and chastening of other viewpoints; but this situation has not often arisen in the American democracy, where, as Jefferson has reminded us, we have not found angels to govern us.

The second advantage of the multi-interest party springs from the premium the coalition situation places on effective leadership. The driver with a team of fractious and competing horses must learn to impose his will if he is to stay on the road. Similarly a party leader who first must master his own coalition is more likely to develop the instincts and aptitudes which would enable him to lead the country. The potential viciousness of the multi-interest system lies in the possibility that a political leader might cater only to the interest groups and let the national welfare vanish in a scramble for special benefits. This is a real problem, and not to be underestimated. But the experience of controlling these tendencies only further develops capacities for national leadership. Nothing produces a more lively sense of the public in-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

terest than an awareness of the conflicts among special interests. The experience of directing a multi-interest party, in short, is unparalleled training for the experience of governing a multi-interest nation.

The third advantage of the multi-interest party springs from the premium the coalition situation places on ideas —that is, on thought and on *thinking*. This is only partly because the intellectuals, as a permanent minority group, will always be members of the multi-interest coalition. It is also because of the inherent need of the multi-interest party for policies, programs, formulas which will bind divergent groups together and reconcile their conflicting interests. The multi-interest party, in short, has both an urgent need for ideas and the people on hand who can work them out; and the result will be a much higher degree of intellectual activity and creativity.

The fourth advantage of the multi-interest party is that it has a better chance of winning consent for its policies. This is partly because its policies, developed from a concurrence of groups, are more likely to meet the needs of all; and partly because the multi-interest process of policy formation has a built-in tendency to secure assent since no group in the country is likely to have the feeling of total exclusion.

For better or worse, popular consent, intellectual vitality, and strong Presidential leadership have been characteristics of the multi-interest administrations of the past 20 years. As to whether the policies produced by pluralistic methods in these years have served the national interest, this is no doubt a controversial question; but it is of interest to note how few of them the present Administration seems thus far inclined to repeal.

As THE Democratic Party has been through most of our history the party of the lesser interests, so the Republican Party and its predecessors, the Federalists and the Whigs, have been most of the time the party of the major interest. By origin, it is true, the Republicans were a true coalition party, representing a broad variety of interests; but the natural momentum of the major interest toward dominating its own party—its reluctance, in other words, to share its power on equal terms with lesser interests—has been so strong that, in time, the lesser interest groups in the Republican Party have been sloughed off. Theodore Roosevelt, elevated to the Presidency by accident, made the last stern effort to keep the Republican Party on a multi-interest basis. His expulsion from the party in 1912 signalled the exhaustion of Republican pluralism.

In recent years, the Republican Party has been essentially the party of the business community; the Democratic Party, the party of labor, the intellectuals, the nonconformist businessmen. Of course, the role of interest in our politics has always been modified by the power of tradition, which has created party loyalties that often override considerations of interest. The tug-of-war that sometimes arises between interest and tradition is well illustrated in the role in recent years of the farmers, who have been the swing group in our politics. When the farmers have voted Republican, as in the twenties, the Republicans have won. When the farmers have voted Democratic, as in the thirties and forties, the Democrats have won. But through their period of Democratic voting, most farmers remained loyal to their Republican traditions and could hardly wait for an opportunity when they could vote Republican again without imperiling their economic position. When this opportunity seemed to occur in 1952, the farmers went back to the Republican Party, and were an important factor in the Republican victory. Whether their traditional Republicanism can survive Mr. Benson is one of the uncertainties of the future.

This uncertainty points up the great question which confronted the Republicans on their return to power: were they to function as a multi-interest or a single-interest Administration? Many Republicans, particularly those who had the experience of governing in large industrial states, like New York or California, became convinced that Republican hopes must lie in the conversion of the party from a single-interest to a multi-interest basis. But was this possible? Could the Dewey-Warren-Lodge theory of pluralism prevail against the momentum possessed by the single major interest—the momentum which has always made it hard for the major interest to diminish its own prerogatives and settle for a mere partnership in a coalition of equals? There was one condition under which the Dewey-Warren-Lodge formula might have had a chance of success within the party; that is, if the President himself were to resist the opposing tendency by dramatizing issues and developing his personal power in the manner of Theodore Roosevelt. But President Eisenhower has not yet shown either the inclination or the aptitude for bold executive leadership.

There can be no question of the sincerity of the President's repeated assertions that he conceives himself as President of all the people; that is not the issue. The issue is whether, in hard fact, a sufficiently wide variety of the diverse interests of this teeming land are actually included in the processes of policy formation. To this question Secretary McKay returned a forthright answer when he said that business and industry were in the saddle; as did W. Randolph Burgess, formerly of the National City Bank, now of the Treasury, when he observed, "Our kind of people are now in power"; as did the Republican *New York Herald Tribune* when it asserted that this Administration represented "business sense as it has been represented in no previous national Administration."

President Eisenhower began by appointing a Cabinet which inordinately over-represented a single interest in the community. According to the calculations of David Lawrence's *U. S. News and World Report,* half of Eisenhower's Cabinet appointments were millionaires, a batting average of .500 as against .280 for Roosevelt (seven millionaires out of 25) and .187 for Truman (six out of 32). Nearly all the members of the Cabinet were

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

businessmen—a fact which seemed to shock very few Americans. If a Democratic President were to have appointed nine farmers or nine labor leaders or—God help us—nine college professors to his Cabinet, the nation (or at least its press) would have erupted with horror. It is hard to see that the essential issue is much different in the case of a business monopoly of the Cabinet; and the meager comment aroused by the pattern of Eisenhower's choices shows how, despite 20 years of New and Fair Deals, the business community remains far and away the most powerful interest in the nation.

IN THE FIRST YEAR, the fact of business control in the Administration has become steadily more complete. The trade unionist who marred the original symmetry of the Cabinet has resigned, to be replaced by a corporation executive. The Secretary of Agriculture was not a farmer in any case, but a "marketing specialist" (to quote his own description of himself in *Who's Who*); the curious episode at Augusta, Wisconsin, last September when he addressed a farm audience from behind a barbed-wire fence and a cordon of uniformed state police suggests the extent to which he had lost the confidence of his agricultural constituents. So whatever rudimentary pluralism existed last January has been largely extinguished in the year since. And, for all the genial tolerance of President Eisenhower's speeches, Franklin Roosevelt at the most fanatical pitch of the New Deal had appointed many more Republicans and businessmen to high office than Eisenhower today has appointed non-Republicans and non-businessmen.

Nor has this business supremacy been much diluted by the use of politicians, who normally serve in our system as the brokers between private interests and public policy. President Eisenhower's neglect of the pros even shocked Sen. Robert Taft, who, while a conservative, had also a proud sense of the function of the politician in a democratic society. "I'm not at all sure," Taft remarked last Spring, "that all these businessmen are going to work out. I don't know of any reason why success in business should mean success in public service." And the unprecedented scope of business rule has deeply concerned many thoughtful businessmen, leading Paul Hoffman, a non-conformist businessman, to warn the business community that its power in the Eisenhower Administration confronted it with its greatest challenge in history.

What are the consequences of single-interest government? The first consequence is surely a tendency to mistake a class interest for the national interest. No matter how much they may differ among themselves over minor issues, men of a single interest—whether business, labor, agriculture—have a set of common assumptions and beliefs. These assumptions and beliefs, though they may constitute an important part of American life, do not constitute its whole; and any policy based on the theory, for example, that business faith and experience do adequately represent the multifarious interests of American life is doomed to disaster. This is not the fault of businessmen. Probably no other single interest could do any better. It is the inevitable consequence when decisions are reached by men with a common background, common values and common objectives; no matter how high-minded and disinterested they may be personally, they can hardly escape identifying the welfare of their own group with the welfare of the nation—unless, that is, there are other people sitting around that table with equal authority and confidence who can speak up and say, "Hold on; wait a minute; let's consider what this will do to the farmers, or to the workers, or to the minority groups, or to civil liberties." The logic of single-interest government, in short, was stated with peculiar felicity and force by the Secretary of Defense when he said last winter that what was good for General Motors was good for the country.

The second consequence of single-interest government is to create tendencies toward weak executive leadership. If the job of the party leader is not to harmonize conflicting interests but to register a generally agreed-on view, then there is plainly less need for him to develop the resources of the Presidential power. That is probably one reason why, except for Lincoln and Theodore Roosevelt, all Republican Presidents have been what is technically known among political scientists as "weak" Presidents.

The third consequence of single-interest government is to create tendencies toward intellectual conformity and stagnation. This is partly because of the natural hostility between the major interest and the intellectuals (a hostility now deeply inbred in the case of the business community) and partly because the homogeneity of interests reduces the need for new formulations and new ideas.

The fourth consequence of single-interest government is to complicate the problem of winning assent. The farmers, workers, independent businessmen, eggheads, minority groups, etc., who feel that, in Mr. Burgess' phrase, *their* kind of people are not in power, are likely to regard with suspicion the proposals of a government that represents only Mr. Burgess' kind.

The Republican press has admitted fairly freely in recent months that most of these tendencies—weak executive leadership, intellectual apathy, popular dissatisfaction—are all too visible in this current experiment in single-interest government. And the incapacity of the new Administration to develop national policies was strikingly illustrated when Attorney General Brownell, considered to be the political genius of the liberal wing of the party, dedicated himself to the enterprise accurately described by Adlai Stevenson as trying to take McCarthyism away from McCarthy. The Attorney General's suggestion that the former President of the United States had knowingly appointed a Communist spy to high office was surely made, so to speak, in lieu of a more formal filing of a petition in intellectual bankruptcy.

Can the Republicans reverse their movement toward single-interest government? Is it too late for them to make their Administration truly representative of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

various interests in our pluralistic society? To do this, it must first be said, would require a major exertion of Presidential leadership, for the business community would have to be persuaded to relinquish part of its new power to lesser groups in society—especially to labor and the farmers. Such self-abnegation seems an unlikely eventuality. And it would appear, in consequence, that the general welfare and the national interest will continue to be served better in the future, as in the past, by a frankly multi-interest party.

But this argument contains warnings to the Democrats too. This is why I would insist that its basic thrust is neither anti-Republican nor anti-business community. The Democrats must remember first that their party is not the property of a single section or a single interest; and, second, that being a receptacle is necessary, but it is not enough. The trick of political greatness is not to serve as a mechanism for whetting and gratifying group appetites. The problem is to develop an ardent sense of the national interest which includes and transcends the special interests within a framework of positive standards of decency and justice. This cannot be done by weak indulgence of class demand or sectional prejudice. It can only be done by hard work and by hard thought, by tolerance, by imagination, by a sense of responsibility and by a belief in the exercise of leadership.

The urgent necessity today—as always in our history—remains that of remembering the limitations and possibilities of man. If our government and our society are to work, they must rest, not on the presumed superior wisdom and infallibility of a single-interest, but on the diverse and reciprocally conditioned judgments of a plurality of interests; for this alone can faithfully represent the brilliant and wonderful variety that is America.

The Truth about McCarthy

Dublin, Ireland

IF YOU WANT to learn the real truth about McCarthy, the place to come to is Ireland. There have been McCarthy's and rumors of McCarthy's since 123 A.D. when Eoghan the Splendid, born of the race of Heber, emerged from the gloom of the mythical period into the lustre and certainty of the historic period of Irish history.

The man who told us about the McCarthy's said: "The McCarthy's and you can spell it MacCarthy, McCarty, McCarthaigh, McCarthagh or Carty, the most numerous by far of all existing Irish sects, are one of the few great historic tribes left in the world today. Their history is one of the finest in Ireland and the fame of their chieftains and piety and zeal of the many saintly men amongst them, form a vast inheritance of glorious memories.

"But now all that was the McCarthy's in Munster is gone and their social position has been sinking lower and lower every year. Their history is well nigh forgotten and their traditions are fast disappearing. The MacCarthys who produced 30 kings and 61 saints are on the decline. Tis a pity surely."

"They were a great people then?" we asked.

"They were. All, that is, except the one bad strain."

"One bad strain?"

"Aye. There is one bad strain in every family."

"But that's hard to believe," we said. "I don't know any MacCarthy's who could come from a bad strain."

"There was one. It probably started somewhere around 1203 when Donal Mor Na Curra, son of MacCarthy of Munster took it in his head to slay 160 Englishmen."

"Why, that's terrible!"

"You haven't heard the worst of it. Finin, son of Dermond, son of Cormac was slain by his own brothers, and they in turn were killed by cousins Donal Gott and Cormac Fionn. The tragedy of the whole thing was that although the MacCarthy's were related and their main job was to save Munster from an attack by the English, they spent all their time killing and wounding each other instead of preparing to fight against the common enemy."

"What a pity," was all we could comment.

"It was so. And when the time came to defend themselves against the Normans, it was Dermond MacCarthy who came to Henry II on his own accord and submitted to him—even giving one of his sons as hostage."

"The swine," we shouted.

"And there was Lough Lein MacCarthy, one of the Irish chieftains who sold out to the English in 1460, in exchange for an annual tribute."

"Why, that's bribery," we said in surprise.

"And there was Cormac Ladhrach MacCarthy who caused his own nephew's blood to spill through the streets of Cork, in the late 15th century."

"For shame."

"Then there was Kevin MacCarthy who got in trouble with the Irish chieftains from 1592 to 1598 because he wouldn't pay the heavy duties and taxes demanded of him."

"Why, that's tax evasion!" we exclaimed.

"Sure, and then there was Edmond MacCarthy who stole 5,000 sheep from the O'Brien family and burnt all the O'Brien's corn because an O'Brien made a scurrilous remark about a MacCarthy."

"I can't believe it," we said unbelievingly.

"Tis true. But remember this, lad, the people I'm speaking of are from the bad strain. The rest of the MacCarthy's were great men without a blemish on their names. They can proudly defy any other family in Europe in regards to their royal background and fine characteristics."

"But where is the bad strain now?"

"And who would be knowing that?"

ART BUCHWALD

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

INDO-CHINA

"The war will be decided by men who never waded waist-deep in fields of paddy"

by Graham Greene

FOR THE THIRD time, and after two years, one was back. There seemed at first so little that had changed: in Saigon there were new traffic lights in the Rue Catina and rather more beer bottle tops trodden into the asphalt outside the Continental Hotel and the Imperial Bar. *Le Journal d'Extreme Orient* reported the same operations in the north within the delta defenses erected by De Lattre, around Nam Dinh and Thai-Binh, the same account of enemy losses, the same reticence about French Union losses.

In Hong Kong one had read the alarmist reports—the fall of Thakhek, the cutting in two of Annam and Laos above the 16th parallel, "thousands of columns pouring south on the route to Saigon." One knew then these reports were unreal—this grim shadow-boxing war will never end spectacularly for either side, and in Saigon I knew there would be little sign of war except the soldiers in the cafés, the landing craft tied up outside the Majestic for repairs as noisy as road drills in a London summer—less now than ever, for two years ago there still remained the evening hand grenades, flung in their home-made hit-or-miss way into cinemas and cafés, spreading a little local destruction and listed in a back-page column of the *Journal.* (They had ceased with the shooting of some prisoners, and who could blame the executioners? Is it worse to shoot a prisoner than to maim a child?) The only people in Saigon who were thoroughly aware of war were the doctors, and they were aware of something the French were most of them inclined to forget. "Until I became a doctor in a military hospital," one said to me, "I had not realized that nine out of every 10 wounded men were Vietnamiens."

And yes, there was another change. There is a despondency of return as well as a sadness of departure, and I noted that first evening in my journal, "Is there any solution here the West can offer? But the bar tonight was loud with innocent American voices and that was the worst disquiet. There weren't so many Americans in 1951 and 1952." They were there, one couldn't help being aware, to protect an investment, but couldn't the investment have been avoided? In 1945, after the fall of Japan, they had done their best to eliminate French influence in Tonkin. M. Sainteny, the first postwar Commissioner in Hanoi, has told the sad ignoble story in his recent book, *Histoire d'une Paix Manqueé*—airplanes forbidden to take off with their French passengers from China, couriers who never arrived, help withheld at moments of crisis. Now they had been forced to invest in a French victory. I suggested to a member of the American Economic Mission that French participation in the war might be drawing to an end. "Oh no," he said, "they can't do that. They'd have to pay us back—" I cannot remember how many thousand million dollars.

It is possible of course to argue that America had reason in 1945, but if their policy was right then, it should have been followed to the end—and the end could not have been more bitter than today's. The policy of our own representative in Hanoi, to whom M. Sainteny pays tribute, was to combine a wise sympathy for the new nationalism of Viet-Nam with a recognition that France was our ally who had special responsibilities and, more important perhaps, a special emotion after the years of defeat and occupation. Who knows, if that policy had been properly followed, whether the goodwill of Ho Chi Minh and of Sainteny might not have led Viet-Nam toward a gradual and peaceful independence? American hostility, humiliation at the hands of the defeated Japanese and the Chinese occupying forces exposed French weakness and saw to it that Viet-Namese intransigence should grow until in 1946 it is doubtful whether France could have bought peace with less than total surrender.

I suppose in a war the safe areas are always the most depressing because there is time to brood not only on dead hopes, dead policies, but even on dead jokes. What on my first two visits had seemed gay and bizarre were now like a game that has gone on too long—I am thinking particularly of the religious sects of the South, the local armies and their barons to whom much of the defense of the Saigon delta is entrusted: the Buddhist Hoa Haos for instance. Their general's wife has formed an Amazon army which is popularly believed to have eliminated some of the general's concubines. The French

---

Graham Greene, author of Heart of the Matter, The Third Man *and many other novels, is a frequent traveler in Southeast Asia and is currently in Indo-China writing special articles for the* London Times *and* Figaro of Paris.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

had originally appointed the Hoa Hao leader a "one star" general (it is said that he was once a trishaw driver in Saigon), but when he came to the city to order his uniform, he learned from the tailor that there was no such rank in the French army. Only a quick promotion to two stars prevented the general from leading his troops over to the Viet-Minh.

THE CAODAISTS too began by amusing—this new religious sect founded by a Cochin civil servant in the 1920's, with its amalgam of Confucianism, Buddhism and Christianity, its Pope, its Holy See, its female cardinals, its canonization of Victor Hugo, its prophecies by a kind of planchette. But that joke—and that adept salesmanship—had palled too; the technicolor cathedral in the Walt Disney manner, full of snakes and dragons and staring eyes of God seemed no longer naïve and charming but cunning and unreliable like a smart advertisement. You cannot fight a war satisfactorily with allies like this. The Caodaists by the military absorption of the surrounding country number two million and have an army of 20,000. They have had to be counted and the moment the courtship loses warmth the threat appears. They have been given no ministerial appointment in the new government of Prince Buu-Loc, and no minister went down to their great feast day last February that was supposed to commemorate the seventh anniversary of the Caodaist fight against Communism. The ambiguous figure of the former president, Mr. Van Tam, beside the Pope in his Chu Chin Chow robes seemed to emphasize their absence, and though messages were read from General Navarre and the Emperor Bao Dai, there were none from the government. When the turn came for the Caodaist Commander-in-Chief to speak, his venom seemed directed as much at his government as at the Communists —"who could foresee the treatment reserved for us, the suspicions of which we were to become the object?"

The Pope under his gleaming mushroom hat smiled and smiled. In the Cathedral the effigies of Confucius, Buddha and the Sacred Heart stared down the glittering pastel nave at the pythons coiled round the papal throne. It was all very tricky and it might well cost blood. I remembered how the Chief of Staff, Colonel Thé, had taken to the sacred mountain in 1952 with eight thousand men to make war on French and Communists alike and how a Caodaist officer had told me that they had made no attempt to capture him because he had done no harm to the Caodaists. There was a time when certain Americans dreaming of a third force showed an interest in Thé which one hoped waned that morning in the square of Saigon when his 200-pound bombs exploded among the shopping crowds. Now he had kidnapped a cardinal, but the cardinal was rumored to have offended the Pope, and the leader of yet another private army told me he could always arrange a meeting for me with the self-promoted General Thé in the Holy See itself. The eye of God watched the Caodaists from every window, but sharp human eyes were also very much required.

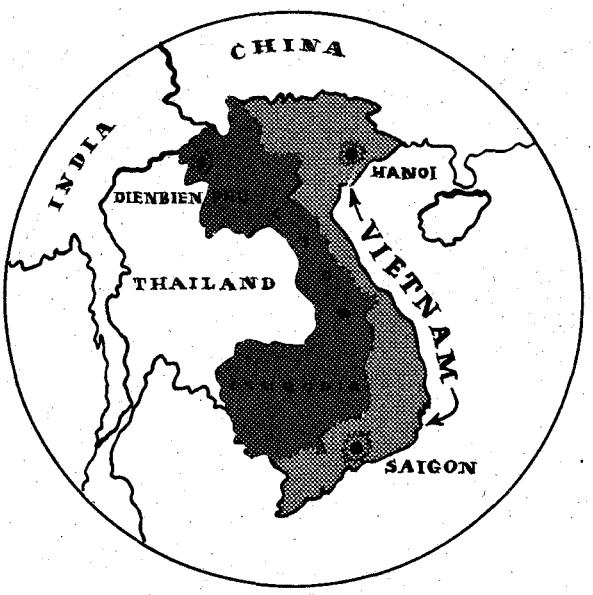
And then of course there was the leader who treated his faulty liver homeopathically with the help of human livers supplied by his troops, and the Binh-Kuyen, the private army under General Le Van Vien who controlled the gambling joints and opium houses of Cholon, the Chinese city which is a suburb of Saigon itself. (He had cleaned the city of beggars by putting them all, one-legged, armless, broken-backed, into a grim concentration camp on the swamps outside.) These, and such as these, were the men at arms in the South, fighting haphazardly the guerrilla war in the Saigon delta, while the real troops drained north into Annam and Laos and Tonkin, the Foreign Legion, the Moroccans, the Senegalese, and the Viet-Nam army itself under officers who had neither the money nor the influence to ensure their stay in the relative peace of the South.

One flies from the bizarre and complicated Cochin to the sadder and simpler North. In the plane to Hanoi, I thought of what the doctor had told me, for in the plane were many crippled Tonkinese returning home after being patched in the South. One had seen just such faces, patient, gentle, expecting nothing, behind the water buffaloes plowing the drowned paddy fields: it seemed wrong that war should have picked on them and lopped off a leg or an arm—war should belong to the brazen battalions, the ribboned commanders, the goose step and the Guards' march. Outside the air terminus at Hanoi the trishaw drivers waited for fares, and not one driver would lend a hand to help his crippled countrymen alight. A French officer shouted at them furiously to help, but they watched without interest or pity the shambling descent of the wounded. There, by the dusty rim of the street, lay the great problem—those men were not cruel, they were indifferent.

One cannot escape the problem anywhere, in the office of a general, the hut of a priest, at an Annamite tea party. Viet-Nam cannot be held without the Viet-Namese, and the Viet-Namese army, not yet two years old, cannot, except here and there stiffened by French officers, stand up against their fellow countrymen trained by Giap since 1945. Last year General Cogny made the brave experiment inside the delta of entrusting the region of Buichu purely to Viet-Namese troops. It seemed a favorable place for the experiment since the region is almost entirely Catholic, and the Catholics, however nationalist, are absolute opponents of Viet-Minh. But Giap's intelligence was good: he loosed on these troops one of his crack regiments and two battalions deserted with their arms. A third of Buichu with its villages and ricefields passed under Viet-Minh control. One could match this of course in European armies with incidents from Narvik or North Africa—inexperience can look like cowardice, but perhaps the cause in this case was neither.

The repeated argument of the Viet-Namese is: "How can we fight until we have real independence—we have nothing to fight for." They recognize that their present army without the French could not stand up against the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



The War in Indo-China . . . Year 8

The Stakes: Indo-China, Burma, Thailand and Indonesia are the only major surplus food producing area in Asia. Defeat in Indo-China would open the entire region including Malaya and Singapore, to Communist domination. The threat of famine could be used to blackmail India and Japan.

The Forces: Allied, 517,000; Communist, 400,000.

The Casualties: Allied, approximately 150,000—54,000 killed.

The Cost: To France, $6 billion. To the US, $2 billion. This year the US will pay 78 percent of the total.

revolutionary regiments of Giap for a fortnight. They cannot expect full independence until their army is capable of resistance, and their army cannot fight without proper heart until they have achieved it. It is the old question of which came first, the chicken or the egg. The result is frustration and bewilderment.

The frustration and repetitiveness of this war leads inevitably to day dreams. In time of despair people await a miracle, hopes become irrational. With rapidity and energy the French in a matter of weeks leveled a forest, erased a village, erected the great fortified camp of Dien-Bien-Phu in Laos, guarding the main route to Luang Prabang, the capital. Bulldozers dropped by parachute leveled the ground for transport planes. Trenches, dug-outs, elaborate preparations for enfilading fire; tanks parachuted in by pieces and assembled in the camp: the achievement was magnificent, if Giap, who had proved himself a first-class tactician, were foolish enough to risk a direct attack. On the mountains which completely surrounded the plain a division of his troops kept watch and ward: all was under their eye. Artillery was on the way, fog which settled down every night over the camp prevented air support before 11 in the morning. "When they attack," French officers would say. "Suppose they don't attack," the ugly supposition cropped up more frequently. "They've got to attack," a French officer said with sad cynicism. In the dug-out mess the colonel lost temper with one of his officers. "I will not have the name of Na-Sam mentioned in the mess." (Na-Sam was the fortified post abandoned in 1952.) "This is not Na-Sam." His second-in-command rapidly changed the subject. Had I seen Claudel's new play when I was last in Paris? Meanwhile as one of Giap's divisions encircled the camp, his troops moved by a more circuitous route towards Luang Prabang. "At least we have made him shift troops from within the delta." True, but so had the French, and sometimes one wondered whether General Navarre's reserves were as adequate as Giap's.

One propaganda offensive is matched by another. Both sides perform before a European audience and gain inexpensive tactical successes. Giap seizes for awhile Thakhek and the world's press takes note (its recapture like the denial of a newspaper report figured very small). The French stage Operation Atlante on the coast of Annam, reclaiming an area of impressive size that had been administered by the Viet-Minh since 1946—an easy offensive, for there were hardly more soldiers in the area than administrators. But troops were needed to guard the new territory so that Giap was enabled to attack on the high plateau and the fall of Kontum took the news value from Atlante. You could find Kontum on the map.

So the war goes drearily on its way with local successes ignored in the Paris press and local defeats magnified into disasters. Dien-Bien-Phu takes the pace of Na-Sam in the news: 1953 attack on Luang Prabang is repeated in 1954 and stops again within a few miles of the Laotian capital. Lunching at Nam Dinh and eating an excellent soufflée I was asked by the general commanding whether I had ever had so good a soufflée before to the sound of gunfire. I could have replied that I had—two years before, at the same table, to the sound of the same guns.

Everybody knows now on both sides that the fate of Viet-Nam does not rest with the armies. It would be hard for either army to lose the war, and certainly neither can win it. However much material the Americans and Chinese pour in, they can only keep the pot hot, they will never make it boil. Two years ago men believed in the possibility of military defeat or victory; now they know the war will be decided elsewhere by men who have never waded waist-deep in fields of paddy, struggled up mountain sides, been involved in the middle of attack or the long boredom of waiting.

[*"Because a game is nearly lost, there is no point in not playing the last card of any value," Graham Greene says in a second article from Indo-China which will appear in next week's* New Republic.]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & COMMENT

Irrational Elements in Art and Politics

by Lewis Mumford

TODAY we live in a world that, for the last 30 years, has been less and less governed by reason and love. The meaning of this nightmarish world, its whole intention and direction, was first grasped, I believe, by a group of modern artists who translated it into visible symbols, long before any but a few solitary observers like Henry Adams understood the facts of our time by historic and philosophic analysis. For this reason, one cannot understand the politics of our time, or the general state of our civilization, without interpreting the art of the last fifty years: for it is in painting and sculpture, sometimes decades before the event, that the facts of our life have been brought within an observable frame. At the same time, one cannot understand the latest developments in art, during the last decade particularly, without reference to the politics of our time, for the two are in a far closer relationship than either the politician or the artist has yet perceived.

Before I discuss the irrational elements in art and politics, it is important to make a fundamental discrimination, which applies to all the forces at work in our civilization. Those of us who came to modern art in our youth, with an almost crusading enthusiasm, often defended it against the pained criticisms of the traditionalists by saying that this new art, post-impressionism, cubism, futurism, vorticism, or what not, was an "expression of our age"; and in that very fact we saw the proof of its validity and importance. But this judgment was formed on the basis of the great hope and confidence promoted by the previous century of progress, as it called itself, when we were sure that every new institution was better than the old, just because it came later, and we had not yet lived long enough to see that slavery, torture, the random extermination of civilian populations, might also be hailed, in the name of progress, as the wave of the future. Painfully we have at last learned that if art was an expression of our civilization, it might express these evils, in symbolic form, quite as readily as it expresses the positive and formative forces that had, in fact, a great contribution to make to man's development. We must distinguish, then, two processes at work in our civilization, one upbuilding, life-bestowing, life-regarding, the other de-building, destructive, life-betraying or life-denying, leading to ultimate extermination and annihilation. Modern art, departing from the traditional forms that had held sway since the Renaissance, responded to both sides of our existence; and the first step toward defining the irrational elements in art is to recognize and set apart those that arose, on the whole, out of the positive energies and vitalities in our civilization.

The radical transformation in art that dates from the death of Cézanne has accompanied and in part interpreted the radical transformations of space, time, and energy, in engineering and medicine, that have taken place within the last fifty years. No close correspondence between the symbols of art and the conceptions of science should be looked for: indeed the attempt to justify the appearance of a few erratic spots on a modern canvas by reference to a photographic plate dealing with the path of an atomic particle, is specious, not to say pathetic, for if true it would reduce the mission of the modern painter to mere illustration. If one recalls Renaissance painting, which was contemporary with the great age of exploration, one is astonished to find so few images of the new world that disclosed itself to the traveler and the adventurer: but if one looks closer, both the sea-captain and the painter employed the same method of locating objects in space, by drawing fixed co-ordinates, by means of which the ship's course or the object's boundaries could be accurately plotted.

So with modern art during the last half century: by its very detachment from the Renaissance world of ordered objects, viewed from a fixed position in space, it has disclosed the new multi-dimensional world revealed by science and carried into our daily life by invention. This is a world in which fixed relations between objects are altered by speed, and in which both rapid travel and long distance communications superimpose upon the environment in which we familiarly operate, one or more other vivid environments that warp the photographic image. Marcel Duchamps' famous "Nude Descending a Staircase" was a startlingly realistic anticipation of the results of the dissection of motion by the stroboscopic camera, as disclosed a few decades later by Gjon Mili. So, too, though the Renaissance painter, to perfect his mastery of surface form and volume, took the lead in the dissection of the human body, it is only in our time, with the advance of scientific analysis, and the revelations of the X-ray, that the sub-cutaneous reality of organs, tissues, and cells, has become part of our daily consciousness.

For us, today, reality no longer can be represented fully by surface images: the invisible is as real, as present, as operative as that which is open to our immediate gaze. I would not say that this multi-dimensional world has often been adequately represented or symbolized in any public form, except perhaps in the terrifying abstraction of three-dimensional chess; still less that many artists have succeeded in translating it into intelligible and orderly symbols of art; but the sculptures of the Constructivists, particularly of Naum Gabo, come close to revealing and interpreting the new world of space, time, energy, motion, and constructing equivalent forms that captivate the spirit. On the whole this art has been a healthy influence; and the same can be said, with certain reservations, for the effort, led by the cubists more than a generation ago, to do justice to machines and machine forms as objects of perception. This was a task in which photographers, beginning with Stieglitz, painters beginning with Duchamp-Villon and Léger, sculptors beginning with Brancusi, and architects, beginning afresh with LeCorbusier, have united to acclimate the mind and spirit of man to the new machine-conditioned, machine-made world that he was creating. By contemplating these new forms, by extracting from them new values, quickened sensuous perceptions, often per-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ceptions of great fineness and delicacy, as in the paintings of Loren MacIver, modern man made himself at home in the very world from which the antiseptic, dehumanized procedures of science had excluded him. That too was a gain in values: likewise a gain in spiritual balance, provided the machine was not conceived as a demiurge that ruled all other human needs.

One more aspect of modern art, on the positive and affirmative side, must be mentioned—though it is an ambivalent contribution and from the first showed disturbing openness to the forces of disintegration. This has to do with the multi-dimensional nature of the human personality, with all the interrelations that exist between the inner and the outer, from the autonomic nervous system and the pre-conscious processes to the subtlest manifestations of thought and feeling: with all the layers of self from the id to the super-ego. Thanks to Sigmund Freud, our age has re-discovered and re-established the inner world: the world of fantasy and dreams, that spontaneous fountain of free creativity, in which nothing is probable because everything is possible, a world in which the demonic and angelic are forever at war. A generation ago, the expressionists and the surrealists began to interpret this world for us, often retaining some of its most endearing qualities; its humor, as in the delicate fantasies of Klee and Chagall, in the droll contraptions of Pierre Roy, even occasionally in the deliberately paranoid art of Dali, as in the painting of the half melted watches depending limply from a tree. Aesthetically, these images were often fragmentary: symbolically they existed in a self-enclosed void. But many of the surrealists, whose work seems to rise out of the blackest depths of the unconscious, also turned out to be much closer to the increasingly grim realities of the outer world. I recall my own premonitory uneasiness at seeing the blasted landscapes and dismantled factories in Lurçat's paintings of the early thirties: they prepared one for the destruction of the coming war, as the mutilated human forms that appeared in surrealist art prepared one for the nauseating horrors of Hitler's extermination camps. The exacerbating sensations, the emotional violence, the actual tortures and butcheries, of the period of victorious Fascism—the period dominated by Hitler and Stalin—could be interpreted only in distorted forms and sadistic images, forms close to the productions of madness, in a picture like Picasso's famous Guernica Mural. The human content of those pictures was sometimes so unbearable that they raised the question as to whether the artist himself was merely portraying the evil and madness of our age, or actually, by his very images, participating in it and extending its influence—just as our comic books and our gangster motion pictures and radio plays actually do on the lowest everyday level.

At the first try many of these manifestations of modern art might seem as difficult for a layman to interpret as the latest equation of nuclear physics. But in time the more positive productions, associated with the more formative processes in our civilization, became individually more intelligible, though anything like a synthesis between the various aspects of life and reality that have been symbolized in art during the last fifty years has so far proved unattainable: indeed, just the opposite has happened, because with the further development of painting, particularly in America, the split between the integrating and the disintegrating tendencies has become deeper. That split has become as deep, in fact, as the difference between the deeply human life-furthering purposes of UNRRA and the Marshall Plan (in its original form) and the anti-human and life-threatening purposes associated all over the world—and above all in our own country—with the development of agents of atomic and bacterial extermination.

One part of our art has responded to the formative and rational elements in our civilization and has sought to interpret and translate them: the other part has responded to, has recorded, has intensified the horror and misery and madness of our age, with its code of unrestricted violence and its scientifically contrived technics of demoralization, disintegration, and extermination. As one looks back over the art of the last forty years, these two facts are increasingly plain, and the ways which seemed to run parallel at first have parted further and further. Plainly, the narrow path, the path of discipline, order, rationality, discrimination, the path of mature and loving emotional development, fruitful and creative in every occasion it embraces, has become ever narrower, and the effort to follow its upward course has become lonelier and lonelier. Those artists who are committed to this way have fallen out of fashion; and sometimes, for lack of response, have ceased actively to create. While, on the other hand, the broad path, the path that leads to destruction —to the corruption of the human, to the denial of love, to systematized disorder, to non-communicativeness and non-intercourse at any level, has become wider and wider. So it is in art; so it is in politics. The glorification of brutality characterizes all the arts today: both highbrow and lowbrow have become connoisseurs of violence. The enemies of the human race are no longer isolated tyrants, like Hitler and Stalin: in the very act of opposing their programs of revolutionary enslavement by the same means these dictators employed, we ourselves have increasingly taken on their inhuman or irrational characteristics.

As if the cult of violence were not a sufficient threat to our rationality, indeed to our very humanity, the painting of our time discloses still another danger: the surrender to the accidental and the denial of the possibility of coherence and intelligibility: what one might call the devaluation of all values and the emptying out of all meanings. This ultimate expression of meaningless began in an almost innocent, because still humorous, form, at the end of the first World War, in the cult of Da-daism: an irreverent commentary on the inflated platitudes of politicians. But by now the cult of the meaningless is a grimly humorless one: the negative responses that its empty splotches and scrawls at first provoke in a perceptive mind will be met, on the part of the devotees, with a fanatic gleam of reproach. Cracks, erosions, smudges, denials of all order or intelligibility, with not even as much capacity for evocative association as a Rohrshach ink-blot—this is the ultimate form and content of the fashionable art of the last decade. To gaze piously into this ultimate emptiness has become the last word in art appreciation today. The artists who produce these paintings, or the sculptures that correspond to them, are often people of serious talent: sometimes their early work discloses the fact that they were people of original ability, perfectly able as far as technical command of the means goes, to express

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

whatever human thought or feeling the artist of any age might express. But now all their talent, all their energy, is concentrated on only one end: a retreat, not only from the surface world of visible buildings and bodies, but a retreat from any kind of symbol that could, by its very organization, be interpreted as having a connection with organized form: a retreat into the formless, the life-less, the disorganized, the dehumanized: the world of non-significance, as close as possible to blank non-existence.

In these final images the modern artists who seem, however patiently we behold them, to say nothing to us, are in fact saying a great deal. Paintings that we must, in all critical honesty, reject as aesthetic expressions, we must yet accept as despairing confessions of the soul, or as savage political commentary on our present condition arising from the depths of the unconscious. For there is one special quality in these paintings that lowers their standing as works of art: they are too factual, too realistic, they are too faithful reflections of the world we actually live in, the world we are so energetically preparing to suffer death in. These symbols of nothingness, true revelations of our purposeless mechanisms and our mechanized purposes, this constant fixation on what is violent, dehumanized, infernal—all this is not pure aesthetic invention, the work of men who have no contacts with the life around them. Just the contrary: their ultimate negation of form and meaning should remind us of the goal of all our irrational plans and mechanisms. What they say should awaken us as no fuller and saner images might. These men, these paintings, these symbols have a terrible message to communicate: their visual nihilism is truer to reality than all the conventional paintings that assure us so smoothly that our familiar world is still there—and will always be there.

Let us not reproach the artist for telling us this message, which we have not the sensitivity to record or the courage to tell to ourselves: the message that the future, on the terms that it presents itself to us now, has become formless, valueless, meaningless: that in this irrational age, governed by absolute violence and pathological hate, our whole country, our whole civilization, might vanish from the face of the earth as completely as images of any sort have vanished from these pictures: as dismayingly as that little isle in the Pacific vanished from the surface of the ocean under the explosion of the hydrogen bomb. This is the new apocalypse, haunted by more terrible spectres than the traditional Four Horsemen, as they appeared to the innocent eyes of John of Patmos — a revelation that promises neither a new heaven nor a new earth but an end that would nullify and make meaningless the whole long process of human history. Let the painters who have faced this ultimate nothingness, who have found a symbol for it, be understood if not honored: what they tell us is what we are all hiding from ourselves.

[This is the first section of a two-part essay by Mr. Mumford.]

The Jersey Shore

MR. BURNHAM writes, "I have intended this book to be an orderly review of the recorded facts concerning the web of governmental subversion and nothing more." That is a frustrating assignment for a born polemicist, but he tries hard and almost succeeds.

Mr. Burnham reviews the story of three Communist cells in the federal government. He follows their members into the New Deal agencies and concludes, with some reason, that no one at the time cared much if they sympathized with Russia. He traces them through the wartime agencies, and notes that the most thoroughly infiltrated of these, the OSS, was headed by a Republican, General William Donovan. He pursues them further to the staffs of several Congressional committees, an area rarely mentioned, and to Berlin, where George Shaw Wheeler was "for a while one of the most powerful men in Germany." No mention is made of the fact that Mr. Wheeler was on General Eisenhower's own staff. For this story we must wait until Senator McCarthy decides that the time for the break has come.

The Web of Subversion, by James Burnham (John Day; $3.75).

The story is convincing while Mr. Burnham stays close to the transcripts of Congressional investigations. His writing is restrained; he even grants with magnanimity that while he believes that the Institute of Pacific Relations was able to turn over four hundred million Chinese to Communist enslavement, "there are reasonable and informed men who will disagree."

Mr. Burnham is less successful when he strays from the paths trod by Congress. His own research is sketchy and frequently slipshod. A further weakness is introduced by his lack of sympathy for the human race. Few of the agents he describes come alive in his pages; one reason is that they are not presented as human beings, but as spiders, spinning webs for Russia's benefit. If this is the whole story why did the spiders rise so high in an administration whose leaders had no real sympathy for Soviet Communism? Mr. Burnham credits Harry White with the creation of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, two solid and successful bulwarks of capitalist diplomacy. He grants Alger Hiss a substantial role in establishing the United Nations which only a wild man will say has served Russia rather than the West. The contradiction raised here occurs to Mr. Burnham and at one point he concedes an important and neglected fact:

> Especially after the Soviet Union was attacked by Hitler the web dwellers in Washington did work hard and long at their official jobs as well as at their private vocations—in many cases no doubt they deserved the letters of commendation from their superiors . . . that are now spread on the record."

Yet this point which could explain so much is lost at once; the important work done by five Congressional committees is dumped overboard as Marxist rubbish by Mr. Burnham because some Communists were employed on the Committee staffs.

Mr. Burnham's readers will want to know: how is subversion practiced today? and, how is it to be stopped? Mr. Burnham serves them poorly on both counts.

The agents whom Mr. Burnham describes were very casual about their activities. They lived together, ate together, played volley ball together, and helped each other up the rungs of Government. After presenting them for 211 pages as underground conspirators, Mr. Burnham remarks:

"Actually a number of the now exposed cells and individuals were only half underground anyway."

Plainly this pattern of subversion

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

belongs to the past. To assume its continuance is not only futile but harmful. Agents now, as Walter Lippmann has argued, do not flash red bulbs on their foreheads. Counterespionage, in turn, requires the most exacting and private techniques. But Mr. Burnham projects the past, and endorses legislative remedies suited to the past. He even argues that Congressional Committees are "indespensable" because they "express the public demand for counteraction." In granting this license for mob rule on the most delicate and secret of matters, Mr. Burnham does not even find it necessary to distinguish between responsible committee chairmen and the exhibitionist from Wisconsin.

The admirers and critics of Mr. Burnham will miss in this book the brilliant jibes that enlivened his previous works. Only rarely in these moderate pages does the old malice shine through. There are, however, a few characteristic passages including a description of "Greg Silvermaster" and William Ullman, living in retirement on the New Jersey shore. Winking furiously at the reader, Mr. Burnham tells us with a straight face that they have really retired and live now "on a thin strip of sand that lies some distance off the main shore, pointing toward the open sea and the sights and sounds and creatures the sea brings."

The sights of course are the waves and a few ships better seen from Brooklyn; the sounds are the wind and the cry of the gulls; the creatures brought in by the sea no doubt are sand crabs, skates eggs, and an occasional dead porpoise washed up with the garbage from New York. What use the Kremlin makes of intelligence on these matters Mr. Burnham leaves it to his readers to surmise. MICHAEL STRAIGHT

Who is Boss?

IT IS ASSUREDLY the function and duty of the faculty to establish an institution's educational policy. If any other body does—trustees, legislature, congressional or legislative committee, or indeed any pressure group, yes even alumni—the college has abrogated its function as an educational institution and become a tool of propaganda, a replica of universities under totalitarian rule.

Education must be in the hands of the faculty under the guidance of a president selected because of his educational leadership, not because he has been a successful general or an unsuccessful candidate for a presidential nomination. In Mr. Taylor's words: "The college president must be his own man. That is to say, he must make up his own mind about what he thinks his college should be and where it should be going."

Trustees may easily destroy or at least weaken a college in so many ways—by the choice of a president, by emphasis on the business and financial side of the institution, by yielding to popular clamor, by tampering with academic policies, by interfering with appointments or promotions in the faculty. All this means that the choice of trustees must be made on the basis not of wealth or prominence but on the basis of a real concern with education, an understanding of its aims, and above all a realization of the proper functions of a trustee.

On Education and Freedom, by Harold Taylor (Abelard-Schuman; $3.50).

"The preservation of intellectual freedom in the colleges and universities is therefore the primary duty of trustees and educators," Mr. Taylor believes, "It is primary because it is the basis of so many other freedoms in our society."

Among Mr. Taylor's strong chapters is that dealing with Communism in our colleges. He points out the dangers from the domination coming from Congressional committees and also from collegiate boards of trustees who yield to pressure and dismiss professors on the merest suspicion and without real evidence. Stupid loyalty oaths are imposed, avowedly to "smoke out" Communists, but used stubbornly against men and women proved not to be Communists, who refuse on principle to take oaths. It appears to be an effort on the part of the board to show who is "boss."

"The (Congressional) investigations began, not as a search for facts on which to base legislation, but with the stated assumption that the colleges were threatened by a plot made in the Soviet Union and carried out by Communists on college campuses." And the investigations made have established that the number of proved Communists in our colleges and universities is infinitesimal. But "because disloyalty and political deviance have become equated, freedom itself is in serious danger."

The establishment of a so-called security program in a number of California colleges wherein a legislative committee transmits to a college authority the information it has gathered concerning members or prospective members of the faculty (presumably much of it of the type we have seen in the attack on Earl Warren) is extremely dangerous. It means not merely a form of supervision of the faculty by a legislative committee but a pressure to act on the basis of uninvestigated charges, often made by anonymous individuals, and without any opportunity for the person attacked to refute the charges.

While unproven charges against teachers have wrecked their careers and caused them to be scorned as disloyal by their fellow-citizens, they have also tended to stifle free expression of thought on college campuses. Indeed scholars who had been forced out of their posts in Europe by totalitarian regimes, have begun to feel in the air an atmosphere similar to that which destroyed true universities in Germany and Italy. As Dr. Taylor says:

> An educational philosophy which encourages students to face real issues of controversy and to make up their own minds as to where the truth lies is a stronger instrument for the development of democratic citizens who can put Communism in its proper perspective than a timid philosophy which seeks to withhold ideas on the ground that they might be dangerously used.

And may I commend this sentence to Senator McCarthy's attention:

> American education is designed to teach the young to be free, to teach them to accept no authority except one founded on reason, respect for the human mind, tolerance, law, justice, and the ideals of freedom.

MONROE E. DEUTSCH

A Classical View

ONE of England's most articulate educators, formerly head of Oxford University, has reissued two of his books, first published separately: *The Future in Education* (1941) and *Education for a World Adrift* (1943). That books of such common sense and good-will, and in an easy unhurried style, came out of Britain's agonized years is a credit to their author's sanity and that of his country.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

country. Jittery Americans can only admire—and give thanks that some 200 pages have not a single word of educationese. To his war-hammered compatriots Livingstone's voice meant guidance toward a hopeful future. But that it can have a like value to us at mid-century is doubtful.

In the first book, the liberal and equalitarian Sir Richard champions adult education of the masses as indispensable to preserve and extend democracy. The ends and means he prescribes are traditionalist and corollary to Matthew Arnold's defense of humane letters. In

On Education, by Sir Richard Livingstone (Cambridge University Press).

the success of Denmark's People's High Schools (residential institutions where without utilitarian motives adult farm workers study history and literature) Dr. Livingstone points to an inspiring example. To apply this system to British conditions, however, is admittedly difficult—and to American conditions impossible. Nevertheless, for anybody serious about education, his chapter "An Ignored Educational Principle" is "required" reading: no comment or summary can suggest the cogency of his argument that the fruitful study of literature, history, and politics is not possible for the immature and inexperienced.

Towards finding standards for "a world adrift," Sir Richard, in his second book, sets for education the task of character-training. The right shaping of the moral nature is to be reinforced by the development of the intellect; and the two are to be so disciplined as to create in the student a desire for excellence (the Greek word is *areté*) and the ability to know that virtue when he meets it. We must therefore study history and literature to find in them models worthy of imitation.

Obviously, Sir Richard is a Platonist. He also keeps bees—or used to—because he likes honey and because they figure in classical literature. He is all for sweetness and light—prefers culture to anarchy, Christian humanism to scientific materialism. With the heart of that predilection many of us have no cause to quarrel. Unfortunately, though, it is not enough for our predicament. When we find him regretting the passing of that "solid, comfortable and in most ways noble view of life" of the last century; separating, for pedagogical purposes, the sheep from the goats—Thomas Moore against Henry VIII, Burns against Byron, Robert Bridges against A. E. Housman; lauding a bowdlerizer of the Psalms and a critic who learns from the *Faerie Queene* lessons of "obedience . . . a cheerful and serious willingness for hard work . . . the paramount idea of duty," etc.; assuring those steeped in Shakespeare that they "can safely read Wycherley or *Don Juan*"—we know where we are: back in the respectable home of Canon Livingstone, where, during the last twenty-one years of Victoria's reign, his son reached his majority.

Flippancy is not intended. We can honor Sir Richard's attempt to wed political liberalism and educational conservatism. We can—and do—heartily agree that classical studies are necessary to any education worthy of the name. But we traditionalists must grow out of, not return to, the best in the past. And for an America whose characteristic and popular philosophy is pragmatism and in whose schools the humanities have lost to vocationalism and specialism far more than they have in England, Sir Richard will convince none but the convinced. We still await the philosopher who will effect a synthesis out of the unquestionable gains made by John Dewey, our growing awareness of the unconscious in all mental activity, and the time-proven values of the humanities.

R. B. HOVEY

BOOK MANUSCRIPTS INVITED

If you are looking for a publisher, send for our free, illustrated booklet titled *To the Author in Search of a Publisher*. It tells how we can publish, promote and distribute your book, as we have done for hundreds of other writers. All subjects considered. New authors welcomed. Write today for Booklet RP. It's free.

VANTAGE PRESS, 120 W. 31 St., N. Y. 1
In Calif., 6356 Hollywood Blvd., Hollywood 28

Less Heat

and more light is what more American voters want. So, introduce *your* friends to *New Republic's* illuminating reports and opinions—at the bargain 26-week gift subscription price of only $2.98, *for new subscribers only.*

Order several today, from

NEW REPUBLIC

1826 Jefferson Pl. N.W.

Washington 6, D. C.

Gothic Tales

THE GROVE PRESS is keeping up its admirable record by republishing Vernon Lee, a secondary but interesting late nineteenth century writer. Vernon Lee was the pseudonym of Violet Paget, a remarkable Welsh-English woman of cosmopolitan birth and life. A friend of

The Snake Lady and other stories, by Vernon Lee (Grove; $3.50).

James and Browning, an admired acquaintance of Edith Wharton, she, like they, was one of the last of that Anglo-American cultural aristocracy of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century which correctly diagnosed the first World War as a symbol of its own demise.

The "Romantic Inventions" reprinted here are short romances combining the authoress' interest in the history and art or the historical art of Italy, along with the materials of *fin de siecle* decadence and, counter-balancing all this, a strong sense of irony and a satirical gift of phrase. The characters are generally negligible and the authoress' chief interest is the evocation of mood. Part of the mood is purely artistic and there are straightforward, Ruskinesque descriptions of Italian masterpieces. On the other hand there is also a kind of romanticism *in extremis*, so characteristic of the late nineteenth century, in which art, history, evil, and hallucination—the "Romantic Agony" as Mario Praz calls it—intertwine. Thus many of Miss Paget's inventions turn on an *ideé fixe*, at times historical, leading to hallucinations and very often the obsession is with some kind of evil figure, a femme fatale, or with art itself which is presented as ambiguous and, for all its beauty, of the Devil.

It is too bad our culture no longer seems to be able to afford civilized secondary writers such as Vernon Lee.

JOHN HENRY RALEIGH

Notes on the Critics

LEWIS MUMFORD's most recent book is *Art and Technics*. MONROE E. DEUTSCH was formerly provost of the University of California at Berkeley; JOHN HENRY RALEIGH is on the English faculty there. R. B. HOVEY teaches at the University of Pennsylvania. ERIC BENTLEY's anthology *From the Modern Repertory* (Series 1) includes an English version of Schnitzler's *Reigen*.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THEATRE

Reigen by Arthur Schnitzler was privately printed in Vienna in the winter of 1896-7 and published at the turn of the century. In 1918 Max Reinhardt acquired the stage rights. In 1920 the world premiére took place—not, as it happened, under Reinhardt's direction—in Berlin. The Kultur-ministerium declared the show illegal, but it continued to run until certain Nazistic friends of morality let off stink bombs in the theatre. In November, 1921, the producers and performers found themselves on trial. They were well defended; and acquitted. *Reigen* began to be produced all over Germany. But the age of morality was not dead; the stink was spreading. Accused of being a dirty-minded Viennese Jew, Schnitzler decided that his play would never again be performed so long as it was protected by copyright. (It is of curious interest that the leader of the agitation against *Reigen,* one Karl Brunner, was awarded the Goethe Medal by Adolf Hitler in 1942.) Schnitzler died in 1931. His son and heir, now a professor at UCLA, still tries to keep the play off the boards. How long he can continue to do so is a question. An unauthorized production was staged this winter by The Playwrights' Theatre of Chicago. Keene Wallis, author of the English version, and holder of copyright on it, was not to be found. No legal action was taken.

Since, however, Arthur Schnitzler had sold the French rights to *Reigen* before he decided to veto performances, the play can be legally presented, not only in France, but all over the world *as a French work*; and it is as a French work—the film *La Ronde*—that the world, including now the state of New York, knows it. It is good that the friends of morality should have received in America another defeat at the hands of the friends of *Reigen*. But it is unfortunate that America is permitted to see this film while being forbidden to see the play. Production of the play is, at this point, a moral imperative—to correct the distortions which the director Max Ophuls has imposed on the film.

Oh yes, it is what we call a "good" film—when we mean "not positively moronic." It is better than that. There are real actors in it. There is a real sophistication in the showmanship. Late Saturday night, if you feel like seeing a little French bedroom comedy, and don't mind its not being one of the best, you can see *La Ronde* and like it. Go really late, so you'll be nearly as tired as Mr. Ophuls was when he made the scenario.

That, if you revive an older work, you must "do something" to it is an assumption by no means new to the entertainment business. The term "revival" itself embodies the fallacy. If a work were indeed dead, you couldn't bring it to life. If it is still alive, its life is its own; to ignore this fact, to try and give it another kind of life, will be to kill it. The intention is revival; what happens is murder. A current example, in my view, is Marc Blitzstein's version of Bertolt Brecht's *Threepenny Opera.* The attempt to give Brecht life of another sort has been to kill the sort of life he does have. (Since personal motives are sometimes imputed to my criticism—a story circulated recently that my praise of an actress had been written in her dressing-room with her assistance—I should not conceal from any reader that I collaborated on another English version of Brecht's play. I'm not satisfied with this version either.) The adaptor of *Reigen* has committed the same murder as the adaptor of *Threepenny* — betraying his author by removing the style and meaning—but with a different weapon. The classic irony of a Brecht or a Schnitzler can be destroyed either by sheer weight on the one hand or by sheer lack of it on the other—by crudity or by whimsicality, by coarseness or cuteness, ugliness or prettiness, Mr. Blitzstein or Mr. Ophuls, *La Ronde* is flippant and effete.

What's wrong with flippancy? Many movies would gain by it. We are taken aback by it in *La Ronde* because Schnitzler had been writing *about* flippancy and *against* it. *Reigen* embodies a keen sense of life as both tragic and comic; life in *La Ronde* is never more than a moment of pathos, a moment of absurdity, a juicy incident, a passing titillation, sour romance, pathetic farce . . . Does life matter? Does this film matter? Schnitzler's serious sadness has dwindled to a cheap cynicism. One may justly say of the film that it is not even pornographic, and sympathize—sincerely enough—with those who came to snigger and remained to snore. In pornography you feel the pressure of *some* human impulse, however juvenile or neurotic. Cheap cynicism makes you feel absolutely nothing. Of all attitudes it is the closest to sheer nullity. Leaves you cold? Not even that. It leaves you at whatever temperature it finds you.

There are directors who get good work out of not very good actors. Mr. Ophuls has managed to take very good actors and get bad work out of them. In the case of Anton Walbrook, it may not be that the acting is bad; he has a part, possibly, that could under no circumstances seem good, the part of a master of ceremonies who moves—isn't life a dream? in Vienna, I mean, among the waltzes?—from 1950 back to 1900, turns the crank of a carousel, and smirks at all the copulation. If you want a really naughty film, Mr. Walbrook works hard to give it to you.

This is an actor who gave one of the best performances I have seen in English-speaking theatre as Gregers in *The Wild Duck,* a part which demands a Schnitzlerian mingling of thoughtful laughter and tears too deep for thoughts. That's nothing; Mr. Ophuls can even break the spell cast by Jean Louis Barrault. The means he adopts are a little crude: bad lighting and the camera too far away. But no doubt the motive was less to destroy Barrault than to make the camera work cute and continental. Gérald Philippe as the Count is lost in character make-up, and so is Schnitzler's character.

Some of the other actors come off better. Serge Reggiani contributes a racy bit of French realism as a common soldier. As wife and student, Danielle Darrieux and Daniel Gelin play one sequence with delicious humor but it is not to be overlooked that this sequence is Schnitzler verbatim. What Fernand Gravet, no doubt under direction, does with the Husband is typical of the film as a whole: he ignores the character as written and substitutes a cliché. The husband and wife scene opens with the husband going over his accounts in bed with his wife beside him. Schnitzler's Young Gentleman is called the Student (because he reads a book?); the Count is a hussar out of musical comedy. The waltzes are by Oscar Straus. In fact what Straus did long ago to Shaw's *Arms and the Man,* Max Ophuls has now done to Schnitzler's *Reigen:* he has converted a satire into the thing satirized. The legend of Gay Vienna—recently denounced by Schnitzler Jr. and denounced by implication in all the works of Schnitzler Sr.—has again carried the day.

ERIC BENTLEY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CORRESPONDENCE

► Laski's View of the USSR

Since the death of Harold J. Laski on March 24th four years ago, a serious misconception about his views on the Soviet Union has been spreading. Several reviews and articles last year alleged he was "an apologist" for the USSR. Sidney Hook in the *New York Times* of May 17 wrote that *"Laski in the last ten years of his life became an apologist for the Soviet Union."* Two weeks later, August Heckscher in the *New York Herald Tribune* said *"the post war years found him dangerously committed as an apologist for Russia."* Reinhold Niebuhr in the *New Republic,* October 17, 1953, wrote that Laski could not make up his mind *"whether to condemn Russia as a tyranny or to exalt her as the harbinger of a new culture."*

Those who knew Laski as a friend and teacher, or less intimately as a lecturer and author, know that he was too much a scholar and an individualist to be "an apologist" for the Soviet Union or to be intellectually confused in his judgement of it. His disapproval of tyranny within Soviet Communism was frequently verbalized and printed and caused him to be much abused by Communists and their press.

In *Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time,* (1943) Laski said that the Soviet dictatorship of the proletariat became the Communist Party dictatorship and this became a dictatorship of an oligarchy. He accused this leadership of monopolizing the instruments of propaganda, of increasing the use of the secret police, of choking off discussion within their party, and of manipulating the truth so that various problems were turned into a political melodrama of heroes and villains, medals and purges.

The Secret Battalion (1946) was a British Labor Party pamphlet written by Laski that explained why the British Communist Party's request for affiliation was rejected. Pointing out basic differences between the theory and practices of Communism and Socialism, Laski said of the Communist Party in the USSR that it allowed no other party to exist, held all important government positions, prevented an interchange between Russian scholars and other countries, and controlled the organs of opinion, the army, the police, the judiciary, and the trade unions.

In June 1947, Professor Laski delivered the annual Webb Memorial Lecture at the London School of Economics. In this address, republished under the title of *The Webbs and Soviet Communism,* Laski expressed his differences with the Webbs' evaluation of the Soviet Union. After describing the political abuses in the USSR, Laski continued, *"The Webbs say that this is not dictatorship; I only observe that it is not democracy."* What the Webbs explained as the disease of orthodoxy, Laski agreed *"is a disease. But when there is a disease of this kind in a society, whatever that society is, I see no justification for the discovery of democracy in the habit of mind bred by its instructions."*

Later in 1947 a Laski address was published in Britain as a pamphlet, *Russia and the West.* The Soviet Union's post-war hostility in international relations provoked Laski's strong censure. He denounced the USSR's rulers and press for their labelling the Attlee government a warmongering and imperialist one, and he concluded that Moscow had reverted *"to that evil period when socialists all over Europe were regarded as social fascists."* He condemned the Russian leadership for its *"self-righteousness, and indeed of infallibility in approach"* and considered that *"Mr. Molotov, Mr. Vishinsky and their subordinates have used every device known to the ingenuity of man to delay agreed solutions, and to deny our good intentions."*

Laski's posthumous book, *The Dilemma of Our Times* (1952) contains page after page of recriminations against the USSR. In its internal life, he cites its ceaseless propaganda, its destruction of trade union independence, its censorship of arts and sciences, its isolation of Russians from foreign contacts, its slave labor camps, and its deification of Stalin. Stalin, himself, is denounced for liquidating the Kulaks, purging Bolshevik and Red Army leaders, and for collectivizing agriculture at the expense of hundreds of thousands of peasants' lives.

In its foreign policies, Laski criticizes the Soviet government for using Communist parties elsewhere to serve Russian interests, for the Russo-German Pact of 1939 and the seizure soon after of neighboring territory, for the Finnish war, for Trotsky's assassination, and for the creation of *"the lamentable myth that Russia won the war alone."* He sees the USSR in the postwar years as guilty of wholesale looting in Manchuria, of violating its treaty to evacuate Iran, establishing police states in Eastern Europe, of the Berlin blockade, and of obstructing American efforts to aid European recovery.

There is a Laski essay, *Faith, Reason and Civilization* (1944) which gives approval, in general to "the Russian idea" of a planned economy. Perhaps Laski's appreciation for the Soviet war effort at the time when Britain was being "blitzed" made him more sympathetic to the Soviet Union than hindsight has shown was wise. Even in this work, however, he noted the absence of many democratic virtues in the Soviet Union, and the cruelty of the "evil men" in power. If Hook, Heckscher and Niebuhr judged him from this work alone, they are guilty of a Laski characteristic that increased in his late years—generalizing from hasty research. To label him "an apologist" for the USSR is neither good reporting, nor fair to his memory.

MARC KARSON

Topeka, Kansas

► Loyalty—New Calculation

The time has come to clear up, once and for all, the matter of the number of persons separated from federal government by the Administration as "security risks."

The population of the United States is about 160,000,000. In 1920, Babe Ruth hit 54 home runs; in 1921, he slugged 59; and in 1927, Babe clouted 60 four-baggers, still the major league record. It appears that shortly daylight saving time in Massachusetts will continue to be in effect each year through October rather than merely through September.

Now, if the number of home runs walloped by Ruth in selected years, the number of days in the month of October, and Senator McCarthy are totaled, the result is 205.

From the 205 total is subtracted the number of talented cornet players to be found among the following: Arthur Godfrey, Ava Gardner, and the late, great Bix Beiderbecke. In all proba-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bility, the total now becomes 204.

Since a regulation football field is only 100 yards in length, the number under consideration is at this point 304 or 104, depending upon whether the standard length of a football field is added to or subtracted from.

The last step in procedure is to adjust the total of 304 or 104 by any amount that appears to be desirable. Thus the number of security risks separated from federal employment may be 1456, or 2200; or 2427, or even 2429.

The whole thing is very simple, and anyone can obtain the correct figures without jumping to confusions.

EMIL H. GRODBERG

Worcester, Mass.

► Happy-er Days Are Here

I heartily agree with the article that appeared in your issue of March 22, 1954, entitled: "Peanuts — Popcorn — Bonds," protesting against the SEC's proposal to raise the exemption from registering securities to be sold to the public from its present ceiling of $300,000 to $500,000.

Not less, but more security is needed to protect the small and unwary investor who usually buys into these unregistered "securities." After all, the purpose in establishing the Securities Exchange Act was to change the old Common Law in so far as it applied to selling securities to the public from *caveat emptor* (let the buyer beware) to *caveat vendor* (let the seller beware).

Recently I had occasion to submit to the SEC a complaint against one of these "high pressure" promoters, a specialist in selling unregistered securities of less than $300,000 to an unsuspecting public. His field was, and is, "wild cat" oil stocks; the kind of stock that lends itself to romantic stories of a "lucky strike" and "get rick quick" wealth. He and his associates unloaded hundreds of thousands of these shares (all unregistered, of course), on a lot of Civil Service employees and white collar workers who bought their shares at fifty cents a share, and with an assurance that there would soon be a public offering at $1.50 a share. Well, the usual happened; the public offering was a fizzle—and the stock turned out to be worthless; with the result that one of the co-adventurers who, himself, had been duped, committed suicide.

Unfortunately, as far as is known, the complaint to the SEC seemed to have died aborning. This slick oil stock promoter is still selling unregistered oil stocks to a very gullible public. After all Barnum was right, "There is a sucker born . . . "; and now that the proposal to raise the ceiling for the sale of unregistered stocks to $500,000, this promoter and his ilk will be able to sing "Happy-er days are here again."

What we need is not relaxation, but a more stringent enforcement of our present laws so as to make *caveat vendor* really meaningful.

MAX TACHNA

New York City

► What It Takes To Succeed

Of all the asinine things in this most asinine age the most asinine is the notion of some political genius that James Roosevelt must fail in politics since he was a failure in insurance business. To say that a man must fail as a politician because he failed as an insurance man is like saying that a man who resigned from the army in the middle of the war without any marks of distinction can never become such a smash hit in politics as to be able to confront a general who won 13 combat awards including the Purple Heart and tell him that he isn't fit to wear that uniform.

METEK VOLK

Long Beach, Calif.

BANDWAGON

Sen. Mundt (R, S. Dak.) who will direct the Senate [McCarthy] inquiry, disputed McClellan's contention it was a "Republican mess." He said Cohn, the subcommittee counsel, "is a Democrat." —*The Boston Record, March 22, 1954.*

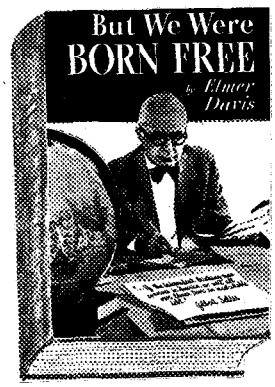
It would be erroneous to state that pessimism has gained any ground but, at the same time, it cannot be denied that optimism is running less high. — *The Magazine of Wall Street, March 6, 1954.*

Dr. Bella V. Dodd, ex-Communist who left the party in 1949, told the group that "the only thing we have to fear in this country is the educated man." — *Boston Herald, March 15, 1954.*

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. — THE EDITORS.

Selling Fast!

A "Spring Tonic" for Every American!



"But We Were Born Free"

by ELMER DAVIS

$2.15

Regularly $2.75, Save 20% through the NR's Political Book Club

On every best-seller list—and no wonder! Elmer Davis does the finest job of his long, plain-speaking career on this new statement of the citizen's (and the politician's) democratic rights and responsibilities. A proud and inspiring book now available as another *NR* service to its readers.

Order your copy while they last.

ORDER TODAY FROM

NEW REPUBLIC

1826 Jefferson Pl NW

Washington 6, DC

"LET'S KICK OUT *BOTH* PARTIES!!"

By George H. Fisher

The boldest 96 page political essay of our time! A forthright, Atomic-Age approach to the corruption and peril of today!

Paper covers Postpaid $1.00

NATIONAL NON-PARTISAN LEAGUE Box 4995 Los Angeles 1

CATALOGUE

Scarce social-economic material. Catalogue: The Hammersmith Bookshop, London W. 6.

MAGAZINE

SHALL WE SIT IDLY BY?—lead article on how communication among neighbors combats urban blight in current issue of ETC., official journal of Int'l Society for General Semantics, edited by S. I. Hayakawa. Read how language forms limit thought, behavior. $4 a year; trial issue $1. Write Dept. 22, 400 W. North Ave., Chicago 10, Ill.

WIN CONTEST MONEY. General Contest Bulletin gives hundreds of tips. Lists current contests, rules. Sample 25c. General Contests, 1609 East 5th, Dept. 339, Duluth, Minn.

PRINTED BY NATIONAL PUBLISHING CO., 301 N ST., N. E., WASHINGTON 2, D. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We're Half Way There!

A REPORT ON NEW REPUBLIC'S EMERGENCY APPEAL FOR FUNDS

When, not many weeks ago, we opened the first campaign in 40 years for contributions to help keep this Journal of Opinion alive, we were unprepared for the volume *and kind* of response which has been coming.

Our mail has been the heaviest in *NR* history. It has brought just over $25,000 so far, in contributions that in many cases are clearly made at considerable personal sacrifice.

We asked for these contributions. They are most welcome. We did not ask for the warm and generous letters that accompany them—contributions given in that spirit are doubly welcome to us.

They tell us that the *New Republic* is of real service, of great value to Americans of independent outlook. That knowledge strengthens our resolve not merely to keep the *New Republic* alive but to make it a worthier magazine with an ever-widening audience.

We have reached the half-way point in our campaign. The last half is still to go. Each new contribution (in gift subscriptions or as donations) helps assure for the *New Republic* a permanent and increasingly important place in America.

FROM THE HUNDREDS OF LETTERS WE'VE RECEIVED:

"The impact of the *New Republic* on my thinking and on the attitudes and philosophy which I live by has been as great as, if not greater than, any other single influence. I can scarcely imagine finding my way through the complexities of the present day constructively without the help of the little weekly that has always stimulated my thinking even when I haven't agreed with it."

•

"While I valued *New Republic* highly during my undergraduate days at New Haven, it has come to be of even more importance to me since my entrance into the service and the accompanying inaccessibility of liberal publications."

•

"T.R.B. must not be silenced. Here's $25 to keep the flag flying high. If I were out in practice instead of in academic medicine I could make it a whole lot more, but I've got to hold something back to feed the four kids. Don't let the *New Republic* go under."

•

"My financial resources, like those of most graduate students, are limited. Otherwise, the enclosed check would be for a far larger amount. It can be considered a 'payment for services rendered,' for your services to me and to many other Americans have been of very great value. But no contribution to the *New Republic* can ever be marked 'payment in full,' for I am sure that this magazine will continue in future years to place us in its debt."

•

"We feel you should raise the price of the magazine five cents an issue. . . . We are therefore automatically raising the price of our own subscription by $2.60 per annum."

•

"The amount enclosed ($25) is approximately one dollar for each year that I have been a reader of the *New Republic*. . . . I expect to be a reader for as many more . . . and I hope that it will be read by good people for many more years to come. . . . As William James put it, 'The great use of a life is to spend it for something that outlasts it.' . . . This should be true of one's money as well as one's manner of living."

•

"I am enclosing a small contribution with this letter. I am sorry that this is all I can afford. I will be glad to send more later (probably next month), possibly frequent small amounts if the need still exists.

"I owe the *New Republic* more than I can possibly repay. My first subscription was entered in about 1928. At times I have taken many magazines. For a few years I could afford only two. During those few years the *New Republic* was the one I felt I couldn't do without. This means that for nearly 26 years, or most of my adult life, I have read the *New Republic*. It has gone with me as I have worked in many states."

Here is my contribution to sustain NR!

$_____

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ ZONE_____ STATE_____

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee

Mail to New Republic, 1826 Jefferson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED